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EDITORIAL NOTE

The well documented scholarly paper *The State, Decentralization, and Revenue Farming : Some Aspects of Vijayanagara Rule in the Coromandal Region during the Sixteenth Century,* by S. Jayaseela Stephen, is suggesting a novel interpretation for the use and application of the terms Nayak and Nayakattanam under Vijayanagara rule in the Coromandal coast. After examining and rejecting the various theories suggested by Indian, Western and Eastern scholars, its militaristic and feudal character, she brings in lots of useful evidences, from published and unpublished epigraphs and Portuguese sources to challenge the current theories and to suggest her own theory that Nayaks and Nayakattanams are revenue farming systems. If the Nayaks are a community of warrior chieftains, how can we account for the various communities, as evidenced plenty in epigraphs, assuming the title Nayaks? Epigraphical evidences are in plenty where Nayaks were initially appointed by the Vijayanagara rulers to look after the revival of regular worships and restoration of the lands and the properties of the temples in Coromandal coasts. They were appointed as local accountants in temples, who then selected their own men for appointments in temples, which, thus introduced initially for revenue farming and temple administration evolved later into granting Nayakattanams to subordinate chiefs to rule locally. Nayakattanam was given as an office and some of the *Cimai*-s given to such Nayakas came to be called Nayakattana *Cimai*-s. But they were always subordinate to the Vijayanagara rulers and the rebellious ones were promptly defeated and replaced. They were expected to remit a fixed amount of revenue to Vijaya nagar, which was thus relieved of the tedious process of collecting revenue from the people, and hence, it is reasonable to assume that revenue farming is an important aspect of the Nayaks and Nayakattanams of the political economy of the Coromandal in the sixteenth century.

Injustice, aṇaṅku and apotheosis in Cilappatikāram by Richard D. Mac Phail examines the relationship between fate, justice and apotheosis in *Cilappatikāram.* The interesting portion of the paper is the operation of *aṇaṅku* in *Cilappatikāram* as a dynamic force, binding the characters and their actions and providing a channel for fate to operate. It is Hart (1973) who first developed the theory of *aṇaṅku,* and it was later elaborated and refined by Rajam (1980). Macphail proceeds on the basis of the interpretation given by Rajam that *aṇaṅku* is affectively 'anxiety' in two dimensions — fear and eagerness (p. 22). Perhaps Macphail's interpretation *aṇaṅku*-ed is suffering, resulting from fear and *eagerness. Usually aṇaṅku* is expected to reside with women. But Mac Phail would extend it to men too — Parata (Kōvalan now), (p. 25) inflicts *aṇaṅku* on Caṅkamaṉ. Perhaps his interpretation of *aṇaṅku*-ed is suffering resulting from

'anxiety' inflicted by anybody male or female. His application of the theory of *ananku* to *Cilappatikāram* is original and interesting. *Cilappatikāram* is one of the few texts which has voluminous critical publications in Tamil, by reputed native Tamil scholars. But the author couldn't make use them, and to that extent it has its limitations. Will it not be interesting to investigate how the native scholars are approaching *Cilappatikāram* as against the Western scholars? This applies to other literary genres in Tamil, too.

A Cord between Heaven and Earth: The Kaṭṭiyankāraṉ in the Sacred Theatre of Tamilnadu by Hilde K. Link proposes a new interpretation about the role of *Kaṭṭiyankāraṉ* in *terukkūttu*. His role is both covert, behind the curtain, unseen by the audience, invisible like a god, and overt in front of the audience, facing them, visible like an *avatār* of god. He is neutral in character, in his make up and in his role in the play. He has the greatest freedom even to make advances to goddesses; to make fun of gods and heroes; to comment and make jokes about local events. He makes gods, human and human, gods. He is omnipresent and omnipotent within the limits of the play and hence divine and godly.

Symbolic Structure in a Folk Tale: A South Indian Incest Tale by A. Anand, describes, analyses and interprets it in relation to ethno-cultural pattern of the society. This is an incest story of unconscious sex between a prostitute mother and her son, during *pushkara* ritual on the banks of r ver Godavari. Anand, rises very interesting questions. Usually in such contexts, the woman is punished and the male is left free. Such stories usually end with the motif of death. But here it is different and Anand calls this story reversal situation. But why is this reverse in Indian culture. Narmada story (foot note 1) also has a similar ending. It seems to be a Hindu practice in the medieval period, perhaps upto the end of the last century, that prostitutes visit fairs and festivals to give pleasure to the devotees (see foot note 3) and they consider it holy. The devadasis, the temple prostitutes, were considered holy and divine. So the mother, prostituting at the *pushkara* rites is not a sin, even if it be incest. She is holy and divine and above punishments, but not so is the boy. But the important point of climax is the unconscious incest committed by the mother and the son. The son, when punished, jumps into the river to commit suicide, and he is not conscious that Godavari is going to redeem him of his sin, even if it is the greatest. Perhaps the tale tells us that river Godavari will redeem even the greatest of sins, unconsciously committed, even unconsciously to the sinner. Sins committed unconsciously are not to be punished but redeedmed and that is the greatness of Godavari. There may be many and many, who consciously committed sins and consciously want to redeem them by their dips in Godavari, whom perhaps she didn't redeem.

In the paper *Comments on Tamil Hieroglyphs in Perumukkal Cave,* the

author M. Shunmugam Pillai, gives a new interpretation to some of the figures and pictures in the paper *Tamil Hieroglyphs of Perumukkal Cave,* published in JIAS Vol. X. 2. His approach is anthropological and he identifies some of the pictures as wooden implements used by the people then to hunt, to protect them from ferocious animals and insects, and to gather foods, for which he finds remnants even now in use among groups of people in Tamilnadu. He also questions the basis for the groups of pictures into figures in that paper by A. Thasarathan and B. Kannaiyan. He suggests a different classification based on their form and structure, and that they could have been drawn over a number of generations. In Fig. 4, he suggests that the picture in the middle can be a female figure, the leader of the group at that time, and could be the beginning of the evolution of the concept of Mother Goddess. He suggests that these heiroglyphs may belong to the stone age and hypothesizes whether it is necessary to set up a wooden age distinct from stone age, or both existed simultaneous.

Selva Ramachandran and Bala Shanmugam in their paper *Managing Industrial Relation in Malaysian Plantation* make an objective assessment of the achievements, failures and weaknesses in the collective bargaining efforts of National Union Plantation Workers (NUPW) in negotiating with Malaysian Agricultural Producers Association (MAPA), from 1955 to 1990. The bargaining has been a series of failures, and disappointments, though NUPW is a model trade unionism, very disciplined and unified. Basic needs such as housing, education and medical facilities in raising the workers' standards of living are neglected, are not raised in the bargaining. The authors attribute three reasons for the failure 1. NUPW was ill prepared in presenting their cases during the entire bargaining process. 2. The union raised the issue of wage negotiation when commodity prices were down. 3. The lack of research and investigation into the conditions of labour in the plantation industry. It is really unfortunate that labour unions and social reform movements are still in the hands of politicians, who never seek advice of the concerned academic experts, in the developing and under developed countries, where as their advice is very much sought after, and matters much in the developed countries.

Language Determination in Education: A Study in Parental Attitude by D. Parameswari reports the findings of a survey the author conducted investigating the parental attitude in preferring the English medium for their children. Sex, religion, mother tongue, languages used at home and outside, languages learnt are the variables used. Data was collected from seventy literate respondents from Madurai city using a questionnaire. None of the variables seem to have any appreciable difference of attitude in their preference for English medium and it seems to reinforce the expected obvious. May be, respondents are few, a poor percentage for a survey of this type. If variables like literacy vs. illiteracy, urban vs. rural, English vs. Tamil medium, economic differences were introduced, the survey may have perhaps revealed interesting differences and results.

The attitude of the parents is very favourable to English medium in al! respects and hence in such a situation one would expect a good standard in the acquisition of English language. But it is not. Why, is the big question the author poses. Except a few well reputed English Medium schools, most of them are now money minting factories, with very little commitment and they also lack in the service motive. This may be one of the answers.

R. Kannan in his paper *TV Commercials and the Viewers' Perception: An Indian Experience,* has set forth three objectives for investigation. 1. How many TV viewers are exposed to advertisements, consider advertisement importment and causes in the Indian setting. 2. Whether viewers consider TV advertisement as interference on the main programme. 3. How far the viewers modify their behaviour responding to advertisement. The variables used are age, sex, occupation and education. Data was collected from 650 respondents from 65 wards in Madurai city distributing 10 for each ward, at random. The youth and younger groups, in the age groups 15-24 and 25-34, consisting mainly of high school educated and unemployed, which have the least purchasing power, constitute the majority of TV viewers for advertisements, and they do not feel that TV advertisement has any interference on the main programme, and have responding behaviours in favour of and satisfying the purpose of the advertisements. But the fact of their least purchasing capacity defeats the very purpose of the advertisements, they being attracted mainly by the beautiful models, interesting dialogues and their favourite cricket players. Have not the firms responsible for the advertisements, made any such survey to find out the impacts of their advertisements? They must have, though the paper doesn't refer to any of them. If the findings are true, that such advertisements do not have appreciable boosting of the sales of their products, why should the firms spend so much money on TV advertisements? Perhaps TV advertisements are now just prestige symbols for them.

On the Beginning of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam by Peter Schalk and *A Comment on Dr. Peter Schalk's Paper on the Beginning of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam* by G. John Samuel are complementary as well as contrasting to each other and thereby leading a very useful and scholarly discussion on Buddhism in Tamiḻ akam. Peter Schalk argues that Buddhism is transmitted to Tamiḻakam from the 4th to 13th century A. D., while Shu Hikosaka and John Samuel argue that Buddhism was established in Tamiḻakam from Asoka's time, i. e. in the third century B. C. A recent paper by A. Padmavathy (*Pulamai* 19, June 1993), Epigraphist in the Department of Archaeology says that in an excavation of Kañchi, by the Department of Archaeology, University of Madras, they found Buddhist stupa and votive stupas belonging to the third and second century B. C. and of the fourth century A. D. The main argument centers round Shu Hikosaka's indentification of *Potiyil* with Bhodi-il. In early Tamil there are 30 occurrences of *Potiyil.* But according to Peter Schalk *potu* + *il* should

become *potuvil* and not *potiyil.* He confuses modern and medieval Tamil with old Tamil. He even finds fault with Tamil Lexicon according to which *potuvil* and *potiyil* are derived from potu + il. Perhaps Peter Schalk is not aware, or no body could tell him, that in old Tamil the occurrence of *y* and *v* in such positions is not conditioned and they occur free as it is supported by *Tolkāppiyam* by its famous sutram *uṭampaṭu meyyiṉ urupukoḷal varaiyār (Tol. Eḻuttu, Puṇariyal* — 38), very often quoted. Otherwise how can we justify the occurrence *āyiru (Tol. Col. nūṟpas 1,3)* and *āyiṭai* in *Tolkāppiyam* itself or justify the occurrence *a + aṉ   avaṉ, i + aṉ   ivaṉ, u + aṉ   uvaṉ*. According to Peter Schalk *āyiru* should be *āviru, āyiṭai* should be *āviṭai* and *i+aṉ* should be *iyaṉ* and not *ivaṉ*. (My interpretation in one of my papers that these pronouns could be split as *av+aṉ, iv+aṉ* and *uv+aṉ* is beside the point. That is application of modern linguistics). Poor old Tamil did not know that Peter Schalk is going to find fault with it. The compilers of Tamil Lexicon were wiser than Rajam since they knew well Tolkappiyar's *nūṟpā* and also these occurrences in old Tamil. Peter Schalk argues that the disappearance of long *ō* in all the occurrences of *potiyil* in early Tamil literature is not explained. When there is no contrast of length in *o* and *ē* in Sanskrit and in some of the North Indian languages too, and not written different, I don't know why it should be long *ō* in Tamil, when borrowed. It could be either. Moreover in the Tamil writing system itself the distinction between short and long *ē* and *ō is very thin and very often missed and more so in palm-leaf manuscripts. Some scholars even argue, because of this, that at one stage in early Tamil, there would not have been contrasts between short and long ē* and *ō*.

John Samuel's paper *A comment on Dr. Peter Schalk's Paper 'On the Beginning of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam'* is a critical assessment of the statements of Peter Schalk, statements of varying genres — scholarly, sarcastic and ironic. Peter Schalk has not supported his statement that *Tamiḻakam* included also Iḻam, annexed or non-annexed. Here is a contradictory ancient reference which gives the boundaries of *Tamiḻakam, vaṭavēṅkaṭam teṉkumari āyiṭait tamiḻkūṟu nallulakam* — the good Tamil world bounded by *Vēṅkaṭam* in the north and *Kumari* in the south. Note that the boundary does not go south of Capecomarin. Could he give any such supporting evidence? Research is not wishful guessing. But the important point for discussion is that Peter Schalk considers *potuvil* and *potiyil* as allomorphs, which Samuel disproves very convincingly. They are different morphemes, semantically in clear contrast, which any linguist can easily see through, and this demolishes Peter Schalk's castles in the air. And hence the morpheme *potiyil* derived from Bodhi + il is different from *potuvil* derived from *potu* — 'common'. Since this morpheme ends in *i*, Bōdhi, there is no place for the operation of Rajam's morphophonemic rule and she is wise that she did not cite this as an example. Rajam's explanation of the appearance of *i* in *mutiyōḷ* etc. is rather complicated and laboured. Perhaps a simple rule

may be that these morphemes are added to the adjectival stems *mutiya, ciṟiya pariya, periya* etc., and before a vowel (the initial vowels in the suffixed morphemes) the final *an* the stem disappears. That is a + V^1 $\quad$ V^1, where V^1 is the initial vowel in the suffixed morpheme. Any morphophonemic rule is evaluated by its simplicity and comprehensiveness in operation and there is nothing divine or sacred about it. We hope the debate will continue.

We thank Dr. S. Thiagamani, Dr. R. Rajendran, Dr. Thamizh Pavai and Dr. C. Rajeswari who were kind enough to go through the proofs along with us.

Our reviewers in this issue are Dr. S. Thiagamani, Dr. P. Rajendran, Miss. B. Kalyani and Mr. Shanmuga Velayutham of the Institute of Asian Studies.

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THE STATE, DECENTRALIZATION, AND REVENUE FARMING: SOME ASPECTS OF VIJAYANAGARA RULE IN THE COROMANDEL REGION DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

S. Jeyaseela Stephen

There is a recurring theme on state formation in many studies of Vijayanagara emphasising a basic fact that the State played a key role in the transition of society. Various theories had been applied by historians to the medieval south Indian state and we are told of the feudal structure, segmentary state, military fiscalism etc., in the pre-modern times. Scholars like Robert Sewell contemplated changelessness of structure as part of the Vijayanagara polity[1]. Burton Stein took an anti-Marxist approach and adopted the model of Aidan Southhall to Chola, Vijayanagara state and society.[2] Noborou Karashima borrowed the concept and terminology from the writings of Satoru Nakamura dealing with ancient Japanese social formation and adopted the same for Vijayanagara state in order to provide a conception of State to theorize political relationships.[3] Although Burton Stein had long ago began to shift his position by revising his thought and introduced patrimonial type to Vijayanagara state, some followers like Venkata Ragotham blindly held the treatment of history in the pre-given compartments.[4] Ravi Arvind Palat traced the strategies of subsistence and method of social appropriation in the Vijayanagara state.[5] The academic focus of these scholars[6] in general stressed theoretical discussion, but failed to realize the fact that the Vijayanagara state comprised of the Kannada, Telugu and Tamil speaking areas and each region had its own marked differences in the process of state formation.

The Vijayanagara presence in Tamil country is first seen in the northern region from the middle of the fourteenth Century and the literary source like *Madura Vijayam* stress important reasons behind Vijayanagara's desire to conquer the territory which was famous for agricultural, industrial and commercial significance for them. They appointed *Mahamandaleswaras* to rule the region and the oppressive and exploitative regime of the state officers in Tamil country came to a halt during the close of the fifteenth century. Later, a very high decentralized system came into existence during the sixteenth century where

Nāyaks were granted large territories by the king and the Vijayanagara rulers introduced revenue farming system. This paper particularly disputes and questions certain assumptions on its militaristic and feudal character on the processes of state formation and brings up useful evidence on its civilian origin and challenges some of the current views in the *Nāyaka* system. Texts of the published inscriptions,[7] unpublished epigraphs preserved at the office of the chief epigraphist, Mysore, and Portuguese sources had been chiefly used in the preparation of this paper.

The period of sixteenth century marked the zenith of territorial expansion and political sway of Vijayanagara rule in Tamil country. The pioneering work of Robert Sewell stands as foundation and gives some bare sketch of political history although it was heavily based upon literary sources in Portuguese and Persian. A. Krishnaswami Pillai using the inscriptions, had traced out the regnal dates of fifty eight *Nāyaks* from 1371 to 1530 A. D. without understanding the forces at work and the changes that took place in the administrative structure. R. Sathiyanatha Aiyar, V. Vriddhagirisan and C. S. Srinivasachari focussed their attention on the extension of Vijayanagar rule to Madurai, Tañcāvūr and Gingee but failed to recognize the forms of authority involving different principles in state formation.[8] Thus we find that the traditional historians had presented merely undigested facts without examining the anatomy of the *Nāyak* chiefdoms at the local level and the problems remain untouched. Therefore, there is great scope to probe indepth by exploring the mass of published and unpublished inscriptions in the original text and context, besides using literary sources to study Coromandel Chiefdoms and their characteristics.

Discussion of Coromandel Polity during this period has until now primarily revolved around two closely related problems of military and feudal characters. This concentration has prompted historians to neglect the study of the mainstream to analyse the anatomy of polity in Coromandel. The views of scholars regarding the nature of polity formulated so far may be discussed here. D. C. Sircar and Nilakanta Sastri discussed the polity as a system based on military tenure.[9] They interpreted *Nāyaks* as warrior chieftains citing the Portuguese sources where Fernao Nuniz and Domingos Paes compared the *Nāyaks* to the rank of captains in Portugal. This view needs reconsideration since the comparison in the context was originally made to show the control of the *Rāyas* of Vijayanagar exercised on the *Nāyaka* rulers. The literary source of *Agnipurana* text[10] which highlights the position of *Nāyaks* as a leader in a territory, does not place the *Nāyaka* in a higher rank with the post of a captain in the royal army.[11] We may agree with the derivation of the term *Nāyaka* from Sanskrit which means leader or chief.[12] The inscriptional texts record *Nāyaks* as *Kāriyakarttar* or *Kāriyattu Kattavar.*[13] These expressions literally indicate that

Nāyaks were the chief of actions and executor of transactions who probably derived the independent rights from the king. Moreover, the term *Amaram* referred to troops has not generally formed suffix along with the usage of *Nayaṅkara* in the Coromandel epigraphs of the sixteenth century. If we treat *Nāyaks* as warrior chieftains, it is difficult to accept other epigraphical evidences which record the persons of various communities such as *Manṟāṭis,*[14] and *Ceṭṭies*[15] in the Coromandel society who possessed the *Nāyaka* title. The fact that these titles were given to them as chiefs of their community in the locality is inferred from the epigraphs. Therefore, it is correct to consider the term *Nāyak* indicating chiefs or leaders, which is commonly found and used in a wide variety of instances. The usage of the word *Nāyak* to denote warrior chieftain may not be a suitable one and probably *Senātipaṭi* or *Taḷavāy* could be equated with warrior chieftain. Some exaggeration had crept in applying the military aspects of Vijayanagara rulers with reference to appointment of *Nāyaks*. It may be true that the *Nāyaks* were asked to assist the Vijayanagara rulers at the time of war as loyal subordinates, but military duty played only a minor rule in the selection of a *Nāyak* by the Vijayanagara rulers. We have no precise details of the strength of the army maintained by the *Nāyaks* in Coromandel except a few. We have only references to soldiers called *Ekangiviras* who were conferred with honour and privileges for their participation in war by the Vijayanagara Kings in this period.[16] According to evidences Sevappa *Nāyaka* was appointed as *Nāyak* of Tañcāvūr through matrimonial alliance with Vijayanagara ruling family receiving Tañcāvūr *Cīmai* as *Sridhanam.*[17] Allasani Peddana was granted Karivacci *Cīmai* as a member belonging to the nobility.[18] Vitthala Chinna Timma was given Chinglepet *Cīmai* on account of blood relationship.[19] Therefore it is suggested that some specific principles involving identifiable extended kinship was followed by Vijayanagara rulers for the grant of *Nāyakattāṉams*. We find no inscriptional evidences supporting the grant of *Nāyakattāṉam* on military tenure. Therefore in the circumstances stated, the view of polity based on military tenure may be rejected.

A. Krishnaswami and N. Karashima conducted their epigraphical studies to understand the attitudes, ideals and basic structure of Coromandel polity in the past. However, using the original inscriptional text to describe the nature of polity also requires careful treatment to assess the relationship among *Nāyaks* and also with the Vijayanagara rulers.[20] These above said scholars related it to feudalism of medieval Europe and Japan which led to a confusion in understanding the nature of polity. Karashima noticed frequent occurrence of a phrase *puṇṇiyam uṇṭākum paṭiyāka* (for the merit of) in the epigraphs dealing with the transactions among *Nāyaks* and Vijayanagara rulers. He treated it as instances relating to subordination and concluded that the sub-infeudation had existed among the *Nāyaks.*[21] The two examples cited and used by Karashima refer to the formal request of one *Nāyaka* for the construction of *Gopuram* of

a temple and repairs of other structure.[22] It is incorrect to interpret these religious grants of land and money as instances of subordination. Moreover the relation of subordination between Vajyappa Nāyaka and Bommu Nāyaka is not at all clear.[23] Therefore it is obvious that information was fed in order to fit into the conceptual framework and it would be incorrect to lay too much emphasis on such unclear evidences.

Leaving aside the examples cited by him, the usage and meaning of the phrase need careful analysis. Vijayanagara kings had made gifts for their own merit.[24] Similarly *Nāyaks* had also made donation for their own merit.[25] Therefore it would not be proper to treat these evidences as samples of subordination. Further King Achyutadevaraya made a gift of village for the merit of Vasava Nāyaka during 1534.[26] We cannot certainly hold, in this case, that the emperor was the subordinate of a *Nāyaka*. Some more inscriptions record that grants were made for the merit of father, mother[27], brother, wife, family,[28] ancestors, and other individuals.[29] Therefore from these evidences we may conclude that the phrase "for the merit of" cannot be employed to relate subordination in nature and the inference of Karashima may be slightly too hasty when we consider known evidences. There is an inscription which records the usage of a prefix called *Svāmi* for whose merit the gift was made through addressing the person in the most respectable form.[30] According to Hindu *Dharma* the gift which was made for the merit of a person helped the individual to secure a coveted place in heaven and this gift absolved all his sins accumulated by the man in his life advertently or in-advertently.[31] We learn that landed property and money were gifted to gods for the merit of persons to attain *Svarga* as gleaned from epigraphs.[32] Since the phrase was used under this widespread belief with merit accruing out of gifts, the interpretation offered regarding the phrase to feudalism may be ignored. Karashima's other arguments in favour of feudalism include an inscription where a grant of a title was made by the local assembly to a chief.[33] The title conferred by the *Mudalis* of Iṟaivācanallūr *paṟṟu* in the *pattaṅa Cīmai* is in no way related to the feudal title and did not entail the feudal obligations. While suggesting the existence of gradation among *Nāyaks* in relation to central power.[34] Karashima failed to produce evidences with various circumstances, factors and basis for such grades leading to this classification. Thus it is construed that the concept of feudalism was primarily used for gaining theoretical credibility.[35]

Although Burton Stein who examined features of polity in detail, had refuted the application of feudalism to medieval South India, the main weakness of his argument lies in the application segmentary state theory to Vijayanagara polity. He contradicted his own statement when he called *Nāyaks* as creatures of the Vijayanagara rulers while *Nāyakattāṉams* were not conferred on them; but had to be given or conceded to them by the state.[36] He also failed to

analyse the centre and locality relationship of Vijayanagara rulers and *Nāyaks* while explaining the concept of pyramidal segmentation. His discussion of political organisation of Vijayanagara state and arguments were not founded on concrete evidences.[37]

Historical Sketch of Rise of *Nāyaks*

Any discussion on the Coromandel polity would be incomplete without understanding Coromandel's historical ties with the kingdom of Vijayanagar. State forming tendencies during this period, such as how *Nāyaks* began to foster the forces and emerged politically dominant are very important. According to inscriptions *Nāyaks* were initially appointed by Vijayanagara rulers to look after the revival and conduct of regular worship and restoration of lands and property of temples in the Coromandel region during the fourteenth century.[38] Several inscriptions of this period show many instances of misappropriation of temple properties, by protectors of the temple. Certain *Brahamaṇās* had stolen gold from the treasury of the temple. They were deprived of rights in temple worship and management of temple lands.[39] Nambisivappaya, an officer of the temple misappropriated the jewels of the deity. He received punishment of confiscation of his house and house site.[40] It was during this period that decision to place *Nāyaks* in temples by Vijayanagara rulers was taken to prevent corruption.

In this gradual process we find *Nāyaks* directly sharing the administration of temples in particular localities. Achyutappa Nāyaka Tancāvūr obtained many temple villages, protectorship of temple treasury, and also had share in the administration of Srimushnam temple.[41] Kattisura Nāyaka of *paṭaivīṭu* became the Secretary, Supervisor and Chief Executive of Devikapuram temple.[42] Krishnappa Nāyaka of Gingee controlled the affairs of Chidambaram temple.[43] Tirumalai Nāyaka ruler of *Paṭaivīṭu* was the temple authority for assigning temple lands to individuals.[44] As the temples also had large agricultural lands, villages and income, the *Nāyaks* as protectors of temples under their claim controlled the local institution of temples. The proper maintenance of temple accounts became essential. The duty of writing and maintaining local accounts was distributed to a group of four *Nāyaks* who were held responsible individually for different functions.[45] They maintained the local accounts under two heads of revenue called income and expenditure. These evidences prove that the interests of *Nāyaks* had centered around the revenue of temples. Thus earlier inscriptions record that *Nāyaks* were appointed as local accountants in temple for writing the accounts.[46] Later epigraphs mention that accountants were appointed by *Nāyaks* for writing temple accounts of Devikapuram, and Tiruttaṇi during 1533 and 1560.[47] The reason for such a development is seen in the Āmuktamālyada where Krishnadevaraya mentions the need for a separate revenue administration of temples and subordinate *Nāyaka* rulers,

since there was possibility of mixing the incomes of temples and subordinate rulers and adjust the revenue by sending it to the royal treasury for the loss caused by the revenue collectors. The fact that a separate revenue system insisted to be maintained by temples and rulers was certainly to help the collection of revenue. Even if the revenue collector had indulged in misappropriation, it was possible that only some part of the revenue would alone be ruined.[48]

The process of managing the affairs of temples directly by *Nāyaks* began to change in course of time substantially. They began to appoint *atikāris, rāyacam, srikāryam, maṇiyam, samprati,* servants, dancers, enquiry officers, accountants, superintendents and various others in temples.[49] Inscriptions record that temples at Tirupati, Kāḷakhasti and Kāñcipuram had two superintendents[50] while earlier superintendent appointed by the temple had continued, new superintendent was posted by the *Nāyaka* ruler with specific privileges, duties and responsibilities.[51] The *kōviloḻuku* records mention that these new appointments were opposed and represented by *Sthanattars* of temples because it was considered a sort of imposition.[52] However, later inscriptions distinctly record that the *Nāyaka* appointed temple officials whose administration had become firm, and replaced the officials appointed by temples.[53] Now it ultimately resulted in limited activities of temple *Sthanattars* who were controlled by government appointed superintendents.[54] A contemporary record suggests that the royal superintendent Koppuri Oparajayya was moved up from the post of *Atikāri* to the status of *Srikāryam* in a temple. Another evidence metions that the rule appointed a committee to repair the temple, issuing orders choosing, his trustworthy men.[55] These examples show that *Nāyaks* selected their own men in the appointments[56] to temples. The authority exercised by *Nāyaks* reached its climax where we find an inscriptional text beginning with the invocation to Ethiraju Nāyaka deviating from the general pattern of invocation to deity of the temple which was found common to all inscriptions. In this case the decisions had been made in an agreement among the temple staff about their duties, without any shortcomings in temple.[57] Allocation and reallocation of temple works were cast in the form of *Nāyaka* order.[58] Further evidence suggests that the right of supervising the temple in the hands of one Ramayya was cancelled and Lakshmi Kumara Tatacharya was appointed by a *Nāyak* as the manager of the temple for a revenue contract of five hundred *poṉ*.[59] This new supervisor had appointed a number of agents placed at different temples in various places[60] of the region and levied tribute from the agents together with the treasurer and the manager.[61] Thus revenue farming in temple administration was introduced in this period.

Local Division

Portuguese sources record that Coromandel was the fifth province of Vijayanagar empire[62] during the rule of Saluva, Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties

of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century. A wide-spread practice of granting *Nāyakattāṉams* to subordinate chiefs came into existence in order to look after the territory and rule the locality. It is interesting to note that many evidences show the continuous dominance of various *Nāyaka* families in places such as Pūnamali, Tiruvūr, Sriperumputūr, Tēvikāpuram, Ceyyār, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Kukaiyūr, Tirukkōyilūr and Phuvaṉakiri in Coromandel. Some other localities were ruled by different families at Tirucci, Paṭaiviṭu, Tiruvatikai, Cittamūr, Tiṇṭivaṉam, Uṟaiyūr, Kancipuram, Cantirakiri and Ceṅkalpaṭṭu which await further detailed investigation. It is construed therefore that there existed multiple and differential patterns of distribution of local power. Further, we also find references to *Kirtas* as individuals who ruled Coromandel forest regions as mentioned in the literary source of *Acyutarayabudayam*[63]. The study of jungle rulers will particularly help us to compare the aspects of state formation in forest zones and agrarian zones in the political system. Thus Coromandel political system was a distinct one established at a particular point of time in history by Vijayanagara rulers irrespective of persons appointed with titles such as *Rāya, Rāja* and *Nāyaka* in the rule of a region with the specific motive focussed on revenue in the territory.

Nāyakattāṉam was given as an office[64] and some of the *Cīmai* units granted by Vijayanagara rulers to *Nāyaks* were called *Nāyakattāna Cīmai.* Other divisions such as *Paṟṟu* and *Nāṭu,* granted to *Nāyaks* were only called *Nāyakattāṉams*[65]. The view of Burton Stein[66] that the domain of Vijayanagar chiefs were scattered over hundreds of square miles which appeared to have had no definite boundaries may be summarily rejected in the light of epigraphical evidences.

Regarding the nature of control exercised by Vijayanagara kings in Tamil country, we find that they never interfered with the internal politics of any area and left it to the rulers of the locality themselves, and these *Nāyaks* seem to have accepted Vijayanagara King as their superior. Epigraphs prove that the Vijayanagara rulers had a direct control over the appointment and removal of local rulers. Senalur *Nāyakattāṉam* ruled by Kempadeva Annagal was withdrawn from him and was given to Kalama Nāyaka of Vellore in 1538.[67] Mappedu *Cīmai* which was the *Nāyakattāṉam* of Timaraja was ordered to be surrendered by the King[68]. Similarly Vijayanagara rulers never permitted the *Nāyaks* to grow too strong as an independent ruler challenging Vijayanagara centre. Evidences suggest that such tendency of *Nāyaks* was checked; and in an evidence we find the general of Vijayanagara ruler invading Tamil country to suppress the tyrannical activities of Koneti *Rāja.*[69] Further, Achyutadevaraya-I, suppressed the revolt of Saluva Chellappa Nāyaka in 1531.[70] King Venkatapatidevaraya defeated Lingama Nāyaka who wielded authority in Perumbedu *Cīmai* in this period.[71] Various inscriptions generally record that local rulers in Coromandel continued to be subordinates of Vijayanagara even

after the battle of Talikota in 1565 where normal transactions were recorded as if nothing had happened.[72] According to Nuniz, *Nāyaks* had appointed a secretary at the court of Vijayanagara who always kept the *Nāyaks* informed of the happenings at the capital city.[73] This view is also corroborated by the native literary source, *Rayayacakamu.*[74]

Nāyaks governed the locality with a number of officials. The *Rāyacam* was the executive officer of the royal orders in the *Nāyakattāṉam.*[75] The next among the hierarchy of officials was called *Attavani*, the chief revenue officer who functioned as the head of *Kaṇakkars* in the locality.[76] These revenue officers resided at places such as Tirupattūr in North Arcot,[77] Kāḷakhasti[78], Devikapuram[79], Maranjiyar in South Arcot[80] and administered the collection of revenue from the subject due to the *Nāyaks* and paid it into the local treasury of the *Nāyakattāṉam.* Inscriptions prove the fact that many *Nāyaka* treasuries functioned at various localities in the Coromandel region. An inscription from the Ārumugasvāmi temple of Tiruttaṇi records the existence of a treasury at Chandragiri. Another inscription from Srirangam mentions that a treasury functioned at Tirucci.[81] Further a treasury existed at Naṉṉilam in Tanjavūr district.[82] The main officer of the *Nāyak's* treasury was known as *Toshikhana Atikāri.* Various other *Atikāris* and *Talayaris* appointed at the village level, directly carried out the orders of *Nāyaks* and had appointed *Ayyakarans* called tax-collectors chiefly responsible to collect revenue in locality.[84] When the kings of Vijayanagar made donations of revenue to temples they communicated the royal orders to local *Nāyaks* who ruled the region emphasizing that the king's orders should not be trespassed and this amount of revenue would be adjusted or deducted against the payment due from *Nāyak's* share as found in an epigraphical text.[85]

Use of a particular term called *Rekhai* is noticed in the popular practice of collecting the revenue which includes a variety of sources of village including its many hamlets.[86] This suggests the introduction of revenue farming system which in turn necessitated the *Nāyaks* to adopt this pattern at the village level. This introduced a system of government wherein grant of *Nāyakattāṉam* was associated with the administration of the territory, and collection of the revenues and remission of a part of the revenue to Vijayanagara King.

Localities and the Empire

There was a revenue department known as *Attayaṉi* presided by the Minister for Revenue in the Vijayanagara capital.[87] Inscriptions prove the existence of *Karaṇikkam* as revenue accountants representing the interest of the King appointed at the headquarters of *Nāyakattāṉams* to maintain the accounts relating to revenue due from the *Nāyaks.*[88] It is evident from the basic writings of emperor Krishnadevaraya in his *Amuktamālyada* dealing with political economy that funds were exclusively collected by the king to maintain the empires.

Rayayacakamu records summon issued by the Vijayanagara king for production of details regarding the number of territories, amount of revenue collected, amount unpaid and balance as overdue in each *Rājya, Cimai* and other *Nāyakattāṉams.*[89]

On the outset, these instances suggest the existence of revenue farming and of the *Nāyaks* who ruled *Nāyakattāṉams* and payment of revenue to the Vijayanagara rulers. This is corroborated by an inscriptional text recording the royal instruction of king to the local accountant who kept the accounts about the amount of remission of revenue which would be deducted from the revenue share to be paid to Vijayanagara king by Surappa Nāyaka[90]. Fernso Nuniz records that the Coromandel region yielded a revenue of a million and a hundred thousand gold *Pardaos* per annum to the Vijayanagar treasury.[91] He also records that according to law in practice then, the *Nāyaks* had to settle their revenues on or before the festival of *Mahānavami* which was celebrated for nine days. The amount of revenue which was fixed by Vijayanagara king each year had to be paid by *Nāyaks* and this implied that it was the way adopted by the Emperor to administer the localities in Coromandel. An evidence clearly mentions the exact amount of revenue due from a local ruler to Vijayanagara king.[92] Thus it is evident that flow of revenue from Coromandel to Vijayanagara capital was a routine affair, and the king never interfered so long as the *Nāyaks* made their payments regularly.[93]

Recent writings have very much continued to reiterate the notions of feudal character, military structure and segmentary concept applicable to the Vijayanagara state. Burton Stein discussed the Vijayanagara state as an imperial structure wherein the balance of power between the central state and all other loci of power is titled overwhelmingly in favour of the former.[94] He once again recently affirms that Vijayanagara State was a different kind of segmentary state from that of the Cholas because the royal power never attained that degree of centralizing control over the chiefdoms of the empire to enable the kingdom to transform itself into something other than a segmentary state.[95] Karashima and his collaborotors analysized the texts of the inscriptions and made a terminological approach adopting statistical frequency to examine the terms such as *Mahamandaleswaras, Atikāris, Nāyakattāṉams,* etc. In the absence of feudal and bureaucratic terms some scholars like Sanjay Subramanyam *et al* discussed that it was reasonable to treat Vijayanagara Penetration of Tamil Country as essentially militaristic in character.[96] It is very necessary to bear in mind that the military capabilities of the Vijayanagara empire required a greatly enlarged money revenue and the rulers introduced revenue farming system.

It may be appropriate at this point to discuss about the Political Evolution of the revenue farming system in medieval South India. The *Nāyaka* system was introduced and we find seventy five *Nāyaka* rulers existed in the Kakatiya

empire from the Twelfth Century to the fourteenth century. These *Nayaks* paid revenue in cash to the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal and the revenue farming system gained its importance during the medievel period. Later the Vijayanagara kings possibly introduced the same system at various parts of their kingdom particularly in the *Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻamaṇṭalam* and *Cōḻamaṇṭalam* regions of Tamil Country. We should realize the fact that the Vijayanagara empire covered a vast area of South India and the administration under a single head would be difficult. Therefore, the king adopted a system of polity with indirect taxation of revenue through farming out rights to rule the territory by individuals and collect revenue in the *Nāyakattāṉams*. This relieved the Vijayanagara government of the problem and expense of raising revenue through personal taxation from among a heterogeneous population with its diversity of customs in the Coromandel locality. It also transferred the burden of revenue collection to the *Nāyaks* and enabled the central administration to avoid running costs without year marking basic salary and allowances to officials but yielding direct flow of cash towards capital city. This in a way encouraged the *Nāyaks* to have a strong personal interest in the *Nāyakattāṉams*, where revenue became the driving force within the political system and each *Nāyaka* sought to collect taxes to retain his position along with the conditions of the centre to shape the nature of state. Thus, it appears reasonable to assume that revenue farming as the single most important fact of the political economy of Coromandel emerged in the sixteenth century.

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INJUSTICE, AṆAṄKU, AND APOTHEOSIS IN CILAPPATIKĀRAM

— Richard D. Macphail

This paper examines relations between fate, justice and apotheosis in the *Cilappatikāram* of Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ. While fate, or *ūḻvinai,* pervades Iḷaṅko's work, affliction, or *aṇaṅku,* appears to sustain a life of its own, giving form to the dynamic net of relations which binds the characters and their actions together, and providing channels for the action of fate. This paper examines Iḷaṅko's attempt to provide a viable soteriological solution to the experimental gap between raw suffering and ideas of salvation in the apotheosis of Kaṇṇaki, his protagonist.

The primary source of the concept of injustice is the experience of suffering. Whatever explanation may be given for justice, whatever legitimation for injustice, our primary intuitions about questions of justice lead us back to the more basic problem of suffering, especially as it occurs within a social environment. How a society deals with the problem of suffering reflects its values, and its processes of redress provide a measure by which the social order may be judged. It is with a view to clarifying Iḷaṅkō's contribution to an understanding of the experience of suffering in the presence of institutions of justice, and its relation to karma and fate, that the present study is undertaken.

Ignorance or ineptitude may be valid grounds for exemption from sanctions in some ethical and judicial systems, but in others, they are not. The means to get knowledge and the power to act upon that knowledge are critical variables in determining the justice of one's actions. Whenever a breach occurs between the knowledge and power of the common institutions of abstract justice, and the knowledge and power of an individual, either as culpable villain or as injured victim, each is tested. If culpability is successfully demonstrated and injury is redressed, the institutions of justice are reinforced and their symbols embellished. If villains go free or victims continue to suffer, these institutions are weakened and their symbols tarnished.

Guilt, or self-defined villainy, is rooted in the subjective condition of defective knowledge about oneself or others which leads to improper action. Guilt is always reflective of the state of one's knowledge, and is always self-hindering. It may be peripheral and nagging or utterly disruptive, ending in one's

self-destruction. Guilt may result from knowing yet failing to act upon knowledge, or from failing to have the knowledge required to act in the first place.

If guilt is somehow resolved, it is through a new perspective which serves as a cognitive or affective justification for the guilt-generating action or condition. It may be that circumstances are so constraining that one could have done nothing else. How, in that case, may guilt or blame be attributed? A crisis point comes the imperative toward justice, taken into the victim's own hands, ends in a destructiveness which, in turn, produces a condition of guilt at both individual and collective levels urgently demanding relief. This is just the problem which Iḷaṅkō tackles.

Critical to a grasp of justice in *Cilappatikāram* are the pervasive themes of fate, foreknowledge and guilt which are interwoven with it. Much that dictates the central events of the story is hidden from both the major players and from the reader, even though minor characters appear at strategic junctures with the necessary clues and explanations. Blessed rarely with foresight and with a hindsight which is often insufficient, the characters of *Cilappatikāram* seem very real and human to a modern reader. In the end, everyone comes to know that events could hardly have turned out other than they have. We are left with a kind of conceptual resolution and, for the uncritical and devotionally inclined, an affective resolution as well.

Dramatic and violent death is a popular theme in Tamil folk religion. When death comes to one prematurely and undeserved we have the essential ingredients for deification which results, in a remarkably short time, in habitual and established rituals of worship. Blackburn has noted the implications for goddesshood in the pathos of Kaṇṇaki's mental and physical condition (1985: 260). Kaṇṇaki's story was very likely seminal to such notions of deification, so they will not be of much help much in explaining her apotheosis which antedates the modern accounts by at least 1500 years, but whatever the impetus to this transformation may be, it is still alive and well in contemporary Tamil folk tradition.

It is a remarkable, even revolutionary characteristic of this work that its hero is a woman. While much of the antecedent *akam* literature is in the mouth of woman, it is man, *his* literary foil, which is the focus of concern. In *Cilappatikāram*, the woman Kaṇṇaki stands firmly at the center.

While Iḷaṅkō's three declared truths are

"....'that dharma will become the God of Death to kings who swerve from the path of righteousness,

.... that it is natural for great men to adore a chaste lady of great fame,

.... that destiny will manifest itself and be fulfilled," (Ramachandra Dikshitar 1978: 87)

It is clear that such surface themes overlay another concern — the entry to transcendence. Iḷaṅkō writes for two separate audiences, one seeking an effective resolution at the social level and another seeking a cognitive resolution, and a deeper affective resolution as well.

In the following passages, Kaṇṇaki first responds to the murder of Kōvalaṉ and calls upon the Sun to witness his innocence. Then, rushing to the place where Kōvalaṉ's dismembered body lies, she is struck by the utter brutality of the event and the futility of surviving him.

"O, Lord of the hot rays! you who are a witness for all the deeds of this seagirt world, speak! Is my husband a thief?" (Ramachandra Dikshitar 1978: 280)

"Is there a god?.... Is there a god in this Kūṭal whose king's sharp sword killed an innocent? Is there is god?" (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 284)

How is this contrast between the cultural imperative to, and faith in, divine and royal justice reconciled with the razor of experience?

Suffering is first of all affective, not cognitive, though cognitive elaboration may certainly aggravate suffering. Precise identification of a cause for suffering is a cognitive concern, but it is unnecessary to reflect whether or not one is suffering.

In *Cilappatikāram* we learn the ancient system of justice in Tamiḻakam as a royal prerogative and duty. Three symbols represent and support the royal judicial functions which the king, in his person, embodies. The royal parasol represents the king's protection *(Paripālaṉam)* of the people and the country. In this sun-baked land, it is described as white as the moon, which symbolizes cooling; it is stable, unshaking, and adorned with garlands (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 146). The king's staff, or sceptre, is straight and unbending *(ceṅkōl)* so long as his rule is righteous. It becomes crooked *(Koṭuṅkōl)* when the justice of his rule fails (Ramanujan 1985: 269). In the 19th *kātai* the sympathetic townsfolk of Maturai are confused by the claims of Kaṇṇaki against their king. She is raving through their streets, accusing their trusted protector of murder. A third symbol, the "bell of justice", or *ārāyccimaṇi* representing the king's public accessibility hung outside the palace for subjects to ring to call the king's attention to their plight (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 290, n. 1; 310).

The parasol seems to have been a general symbol of protection while the sceptre was, more specifically, a symbol of civil justice. When

Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ departs from Vanci on his northern campaign, he departs with parāsol, sword, spear, and drum — but not with his sceptre (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 343). This is a strong indicator that the civil standards of justice were abrogated in battlefield conditions, weaponry replacing the civil rod.

As is evident from the stories about justice here and in the *Caṅkam* literature, the ancient Tamils had developed a sophisticated set of ideas about justice and its breach. It is also worthy of note that presents within a king's domain was sufficient to qualify for his protection. The toppling of the parasol and the bending of the sceptre are symbols of justice gone awry. So also is the absence of rain which is believed to follow from unrighteous rule as a direct consequence. While an unrighteous king was powerless aginst drought, its hardships for the people, and its political conseqences, it was said that a chaste lady could cause the skies to pour. (*Tirukkuṟaḷ* 55). These symbols are the barometer of a king's righteousness, the earnestness of his pursuit of *aṟam*, or dharma. Iḷaṅkō intends to show that *aṟam* will be the god of death to kings who fail it. By rashly failing to give Kōvalaṉ due process, Neṭunceḻiyaṉ condemed himself.

It would seem, however, that in failing *aṟam* the Pāṇṭiyaṉ was in the grip of fate. The workings of fate are treated in detail in the following chapter, but it is necessary to notice here a conflict between *aṟam* which the king means to serve, and fate, which deflects his judgement. This tension between the imperatives to *aṟam* and the constrains of fate results in a conundrum which devolves upon Kaṇṇaki as she tries to act in accord with her best sense of propriety and of justice, and to act freely, only to learn later that she had been the instrument of fate all along.

It seems that Kaṇṇaki's modesty and forthright devotion to her marriage are the measures of her eventual manifestation of devastating power and the symbols of her ultimate sanctity. The term *aṇaṅku* denotes a divine, furious, and potentially retributive force, while also connoting feminine purity. It is in contrast with Kaṇṇaki's virtues that one may appreciate the magnitude of the injustice done to her.

How could a mere anklet bring about the death of a husband and of a king? How could the breast of a young, chaste, and dutiful wife be cause of a city's destruction, a major military campaign, the mortification of conquered monarchs, and the founding of temples in many lands?

Throughout the story, certain pairs of motifs are evident on the auspicious/inauspicious pattern. These are marriage and separation, innocence and danger, love and death, anklet and breast. The first of each pair is symbolic of a positive value. The second of each pair is symbolic of its loss. Kaṇṇaki's transition from the young, innocent and loving wife to the alienated,

fearsome and death-dealing widow-becoming-goddess is summed up in the dynamics between her anklet, an outward ornament of special richness and fit for a royal ankle, and her breast, an inward sign of fitness for motherhood. The hopes of Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki are placed in her anklet which becomes the instrument of their undoing. With Kōvalaṉ's death, the anklet becomes meaningless in a material sense and Kaṇṇaki's attention turns to her now useless fertility. She has lost her husband, and therefore all possibility of mothering. What need, therefore, has she of a breast? Kaṇṇaki walks round Kūṭal, her torn, bleeding breast in hand, proffered to the city as the fruit of its injustice to her. It is a scene of utter destitution, but at the same time, of transcendence. It is Kaṇṇaki's will that the city be destroyed and her own innocence be vindicated. As yet she is unaware that all that was to happen in Maturai was foretold and that she was just the instrument of events.

Another dyadic relation-that of ideation and action or thought and behaviour-runs through the story. The best of intentions go astray, resulting in misfortune. Reactions, when they come, to situations thought to be understood are usually over-reactions. Kōvalaṉ, though not ill-willed, is generally inconsiderate. Kaṇṇaki, though she should know better, leaps at the opportunity to accompany him on a venture to gain wealth, leaving comfort and security of home and friends to do so. Kavunti, who professes ascetic detachment, accepting the reverence of passersby, becomes so wholly involved with Kaṇṇaki and her fate that she eventually starves herself to death. Neṭunceḻiyaṉ believes he is dispensing justice in the unsullied tradition of his dynasty when he orders the innocent Kōvalaṉ's execution. Seeing the guilt is his own, he dies. While destroying Maturai, Kaṇṇaki believes she is acting free from the constraints of fate *(ūḻviṉai)* and heaps guilt upon herself when she learns otherwise. She is distraught to learn that she has been duped, through her own deeply rooted sense of justice, into becoming the willing instrument of a larger and unknown purpose.

How, then does Kaṇṇaki constitute a problem? There are dimensions both explicit within the text and implicit in its setting as well. In textual terms, here is a young, innocent, protected girl acclaimed by the citizens of Maturai (though not by the king) as goddess-like. She becomes the object of a cult of wonder and respect, by the hill-*Kuṟavas* and then brought back to actually become a worshipped goddess in *Vañcikkāṇṭam.*

Kaṇṇaki is quite an ordinary woman with a rather ordinary biography. She has internalized the value of chastity in marriage and, though her husband breaches it, she will not. She is generous within the means available to her. She is not, despite Kōvalaṉ's eulogy, particularly wise. After his final meal, Kōvalaṉ Kaṇṇaki aside and expresses his regret for all the hardships he has caused her. Her response is direct, unemotional, accusing and forgiving at

once. Kōvalan praises her for graciously ending his troubles (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 244-7). There is surely a message here that the inner discipline of wifely chastity has more than just intrinsic rewards. The chastity of wives seems to be the measure of virtue in social and political life as well and, if we may press the matter, is of meteorological import as well *(Tirukkuraḷ 55)*.

If her measure by her mortal peers is uncertain, we have the oracle Cāliṉi's intriguing statement. Kaṇṇaki herself turns away from the suggestion that she is the "lady of Koṅkunāṭu" or "mistress of the Kuṭamalai" or "queen of the south Tamil country" and of course denies she could be "*Tirumāmaṇi*... far-famed as the peerless gem of the world". The key, of course, is that this girl is "the sprout of her...prior penance". In this life, Kaṇṇaki's penance could not have been her isolation itself for it was not her choice. It could only have been her silent forebearance.

Kaṇṇaki is thoroughly human. There is no suggestion in this text she is an *avatāram* descended to earth for some divine purpose.[1] She becomes a goddess. She does so without any consciousness of such a transformation and while living, makes no claim to divinity. To the end she grieves, denying the very principles that Iḷaṅkō intends to prove by publishing her story.

Contextually, Kaṇṇaki presents problems as well. Her apotheosis follows the pattern of the *naṭukal* cult in which a hero who had fallen in battle had erected to his honour a stone carved with representations of events of his life. The hero's spirit was believed to dwell in the very stone itself. This had been a long tradition from neolithic times in Tamil Nadu (Kailasapathy 1968: 234-7). But never before had such a stone been erected for a woman, and never before for such an abstract virtue as chastity.[2]

Certainly Kaṇṇaki is painted as a moral and heroic exemplar. May there be a micro/macrocosm motif at work here? Is Kaṇṇaki, in some manner, to be equated with society? Through time and symbol, a symbiotic relationship has emerged between Kaṇṇaki and the Tamil people.

The characters of *Cilappatikāram* have become paradigmatic role models in Tamil culture. Homely metaphors in the mouths of common people endow their neighbours and themselves with the vices and virtues of Iḷaṅkō's characters. *Cilappatikāram* is a tale of a just, innocent, and virtuous woman, subjected to husbandly neglect and kingly injustice, who becomes a goddess, recognized and worshipped by kings and peoples of many lands. She does not begin as one, descended from above with divine purpose. She is no spook, demon, or mystic protectress like those which proliferate in the villages of India. She is a model girl, a model wife, and if we may hazard it, a model widow. She becomes

all these through a set of social transactions, an account of which is also an account of an apotheosis conditioned by, and predicated upon, suffering and Kaṇṇaki's response to it. This results in a traumatic release of retributive power and, eventually, in the heroine's own demise. A kind of justice is won for her in the end, however, by the actions of both gods and humans. This image of suffering divinity is full of power.

The sense of the dramatic convergence of circumstances in an especially significant event, expressive of *aṇaṅku*, characterized as sacred uniqueness, runs from the earliest *Caṅkam* literature, though the narrative works such as *Cilappatikāram* to the *Tēvāram* hymns. Underlying the variations of style and ostensible purpose, the play of this sacred power pervades Tamil literature.

Aṇaṅku has been characterized as the malevolent and potentially destructive force immanent in sacred persons or objects. This dangerous power has been identified as residing in women in general, and in certain body parts, such as the breasts, in particular (Hart 1973). It is therefore imperative for social order that such power remains strictly controlled through marriage. A faithful wife was believed to be able to control her *aṇaṅku* for good, and could ensure adequate rainfall, as well as political stability, with her blessings, through this power. Widowed, a woman became dangerous, her *aṇaṅku* having no living focus. This made austerities by the widow necessary for its control. A clean, uncomplicated solution to this problem for the community was *anumaraṇam* or sati (Hart 1973: 250).

Recent efforts have been made (Rajam 1986) to establish from the *Caṅkam* works the original semantic range of the term, *aṇaṅku*. *Aṇaṅku* is used adjectivally as an attribute, it may not be regarded as innate (Rajam 1986: 258). It is used as a verb in the sense that one can "be *aṇaṅku*-ed" or made vulnerable (Rajam: 259). It may also be used substantively as one may become *aṇaṅku* to another (Rajam:260). This use is rather like the Greek "nemesis" with the sense of inevitable consequence or retribution. The Greek root *nemein* from which it derives means "to allot", "distribute" or "deal out"-a meaning acquired by the Sanskrit Karma which is not original and may derive from the Dravidian semantic complex in which *aṇaṅku* is a key term.

Rather than a sacred and dangerous "power", *aṇaṅku* emerges affectively as"anxiety" in two dimensions-fear and eagerness (Rajam:261). The flash of stunning beauty apprehended in a moment is as much an expression of *aṇaṅku* as is affliction. One love sick is as much "*aṇaṅku* ed" as one intimidated by a mighty adversary. *Aṇaṅku* can thus be regarded as informing both styles of early classical *Caṅkam* literature, *akam* and *puṟam*, as well as the affective expression of the *Tēvāram* singers of the late classical period, in their concern for the import of the sacred locale and the anguish of their separation from god.

Between these limits, at the heights of the classical age where we find the beginnings of narrative in the *Cilappatikāram,* we should expect also to find expression of this *aṇaṅku.* We do find, in this work, a model for the deification process of folk religion observed today by Blackburn through the violent, premature and undeserved death of Kōvalaṉ. The deification is shifted away from him, however, to his chaste wife, Kaṇṇaki. It is their marital relationship which serves as the nexus for this shift Kaṇṇaki is the "hero" of the tale, if there be any. It is she who sets out to seek justice for her husband's murder, knowing certainly that no justice can be done-only that Kōvalaṉ's reputation might be restored and vindicated. She sees a dismal future for herself as a widow and refuses categorically to live submissively, doing penance, like other widows (Ramachandra Dikshitar:279).

The destructive events which follow-the death of the Pāṇṭiya king on learning of his injudicious error, of the queen upon his death, of the burning of the city, Maturai, and Kaṇṇaki's eventual demise, dirty, torn and exhausted, in the nearby hill country two weeks later-have been attributed to her *aṇaṅku,* as a wild and malevolent force, unleased by widowhood (Hart 1976: 102-107).

A less dramatic but perhaps more fruitful account is possible.. We may see in the early stages of their marriage the establishment of unique bond between Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki. Altered by Kōvalaṉ's desertion and attachment to Mātavi, this relation acquired *aṇaṅku* as Kaṇṇaki's wifely chastity (*karpu*) focused this bond to such an extent that virtually the entire responsibility for and burden of the relationship lay with her. Kōvalaṉ was *aṇaṅku* to her.

When Kaṇṇaki, naive in the ways of the world but full of the sense of wifely propriety in which she had invested all her life, departs with the returned and remorseful Kōvalaṉ for Maturai, she places all her eggs in a single basket, as it were. *Aṇaṅku*-ed again by Kovalaṉ's murder, she sets out to seek redress to restore the balance of *aṇaṅku* between herself and Kōvalaṉ and between herself and the king, the author of her new vulnerability. She has nothing to lose. Effective justice cannot be sought as Kōvalaṉ cannot be restored by the king. Kaṇṇaki asks nothing of the Pāṇṭiyaṉ but the opportunity to show him his error, then somehow wreaks a horrible retribution on the unsuspecting and innocent city and wanders, raving into the countryside. Where in this can we find heroism but in Kaṇṇaki's articulation of the *aṇaṅku* which forms the net of relations among the actors?

We find in *Cilappatikāram* no paradigmatic love or heroism motifs between primary characters which were the literary standard prior to it. Nor do we find the devotionalism of the literature which was to shortly follow it. The paradigm which does connect these three literatures, as other conventions are overturnend, is the play of *aṇaṅku* which emerges as an aesthetic principle homologous to the dhvani or vyangyārtha, the figurative and suggestive

meaning of words, of Sanskrit aesthetics. It is significant action which sets the parameters for religious life. *Aṇaṅku* defines significant action.

While *aṇaṅku* is the adhesive between characters and the instrument of the working out of their relations, curses are important instruments for the channeling of this retributive force. Iḷaṅkō utilizes three curses-those of Kavunti, Nīli, and Kaṇṇaki-to develop the plot of *Cilappatikāram*.

Spoken by one who lacks the power of penance to execute a curse, it lurks, awaiting suitable conditions to strike its appointed victim. This is the case in the story of Nīli found in the 23rd *Katai*.[3] Nīli is widowed unjustly.

> Finding that she had no resting-place,(she) wandered about the streets and court-yards, and created a commotion proclaiming: "O King, is this your justice? O residents of this place, is this right?" She raved thus for fourteen days, and exhilarated by the thought that that was a sacred day she ascended a cliff in order to rejoin her murdered husband in heaven, and fell down cursing thus: "He who has inflicted this injury upon us shall be overtaken by the same fate[injury]." (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 315-6)

Clearly this is the model for Kaṇṇaki's own reaction and we are intended by Iḷaṅkō to beleive that the fruit of this curse ripended precisely in Kōvalaṉ's death and Kaṇṇaki's destitution. It is essential that Kaṇṇaki not know of Nīli's curse until after the destruction of Maturai as indirection is necessary to its accomplishment. Afterward, it is important that she know of it in order to give right direction to the working out of her own end.

Nīli's curse suggests another issue upon which I mean only to touch here. Does Iḷaṅkō recognize a karma-transfer theory? Is Kōvalaṉ's negative karma (*ūlviṉai*) transferred to Kaṇṇaki? It would appear to be so. Just as Caliṉi's prognostications about Kaṇṇaki are unclear whether-as they certainly do not describe her present-her past or future is being described, so is it unclear whether the penance Kaṇṇaki performs is in this or in previous lives (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 206). We may not have to answer this question in order to understand Iḷaṅkō for the purposes of the present paper, but it is a fact that Kaṇṇaki suffers and suffering, ostensibly, is always deserved. If once we beleive that merits may be transferred from one person to another, it is a small step to concede that demerits also may be similarly transferred. The premise of Karma transfer strips away the sense of a strict individualism in saṃsāra.

Yet, there is a fitting parallel between the lives of the couples Caṅkamaṉ and Nīli, Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki. Both men are merchants trading in unfamiliar cities. Both are innocent of the crime cast upon them. Both women are passive

victims and marginal to the events which fix their painful circumstances. Apart from the *anaṅku* which Pārata (Kōvalaṉ in a former life) inflicts of Caṅkamaṉ, with its concomitant injustice to Nīli, conditioned by her sense of her own innocence and futility, her curse would not have taken the form it did. She asks that the worst she can imagine will likewise befall her husband's murderer, and this worst is just what she is suffering. The parallel demands completion in the equivalent suffering of the villain's wife.

Kavunti's curse is trivial but is executed with power. Nīli's is dreadfully significant but she is powerless to effect it. Kaṇṇaki's imprecation upon Maturai and its king (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 256-6) combines wretched Nīli's cry for justice with the potency of Kavunti's asceticism. The resulting concatenation of worth and power transcends them both.

There is a direct link, made abundantly clear through several stories placed in Kaṇṇaki's mouth by Iḷaṅkō, between her chastity *(karpu)*, a combination of innocence with penance, and her emerging power. *Karpu* is regarded as a faculty which is not inherent but developed, a product of self-restraint and dedication to the married state. It has been claimed that Kaṇṇaki's quietude and patience evidence the depth of emotion she has dedicated to her husband (Zvelebil 1973: 181; cf. *Kātai* 23: *veṇpā* and *Tirukkuṟaḷ* 55). My impression from a reading of this text is different. It seems, rather, that kaṇṇaki's devotion to the value and principles of marriages itself. She is dedicated not so much to her husband in and for himself as to the *karpu* which is growing in her for which he provides the necessary context. The existence of a living husband is essential to her goal, but his immediate presence is necessary to the maturation and fulfilment of her *karpu*. It is from this *karpu* she speaks to the Pāṇṭiya queen:

> If I am also a chaste lady, I shall not allow this city to flourish but will destroy it along with its sovereign.... I curse this capital of him who did wrong to my beloved husband. I am not to blame (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 295-6).

Significantly, her power and her state of knowledge are not commensurate. The defect in her knowledge permits the effusion of power needed for the working out of fate. Its correction is essential for the affective resolution Iḷaṅkō seeks. It is important that he closes *Cilappatikāram* with an affirmation of benevolence and forgiveness while at once maintaining that fate will, nonetheless, have its way (Ramachandra Dikshitar: 401-2).

Kaṇṇaki seems an unlikely candidate for apotheosis. Her naive passivity and unmaternal aspect do not seem to fit her for the role of goddess. Her apotheosis is attributed to a premature, undeserved and violent death in which the victim's personal virtue is not of great significance.

The curse of Kaṇṇaki which brought about the destruction of Maturai appears to be instrumental in the return of aṇaṅku to the one who inflicts it, thereby yielding justice to its victims. The curse gives form to retribution, making it suit the crime, and so satisfying the demands for karma. Comparision with these other curses gives us an appreciation for how special Kaṇṇaki is. Her *Karpu,* a faculty developed in the state of marriage, and through devotion to it though not to the person of her husband, is the seat of her power. This power is not necessarily matched by a state of knowledge fitting for its use, however.

Accordingly, Iḷaṅkō's attempt at solving the problem of injustice by turning Kaṇṇaki into the Pattiṉikkaṭavuḷ is vitiated by lack of deeper cognitive and affective resolution. How he tackles this issue of guilty knowledge is the subject of a subsequent paper, "Guilt and Affective Resolution in *Cilappatikāram*". There, I shall examine how guilt through ignorance is identified as an instrument for the working out of fate. Although Iḷaṅkō is found to fail in precisely the way he is most generally appreciated as having succeeded — by simple affective resolution through Kaṇṇaki's restoration as a worshipped goddess — he offers more. He points to a transcendental vision and a specific kind of knowledge which provides a solution to worldly woes and a prescription for the ending of sorrow.

Notes

1. Some popular versions of the story do make just such a claim.
2. I have been unable to find in the material available to me any prior instance of a carved image being set up in this manner and adorned by royal patronage.
3. Kaṇṇaki learns of Nīli's curse from Maturāpati, the guardian goddess of Kūṭal.

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A CORD BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH THE KAṬṬIYAṄKĀRAṈ IN THE SACRED THEATRE OF TAMILNADU

•Hilde K. Link

Every one knows, in all its variants, the motif of the rope connecting earth with heaven and therefore Man with God.

In the sacred theatre of Tamilnadu or *terukkūttu*[1] is featured a very particular figure who is able to connect these two spheres, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*, a sort of ritual clown who defines himself as *cūttiram*, literally thread, cord, artful trick, puzzle, secret mystery. The concept also includes centrality, but this should not deceive us into thinking that *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is not also marginal. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* announces the drama and introduces the various characters while singing panegyrics on the hero or king, who is about to enter the stage (Tam. *kaṭṭiyam*, panegyric sung before a king, a kind of dancing; *kāraṉ*, doer, possessor). In what follows I shall try to clarify both the central and the marginal roles of the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* within his field, which is that of the sacred theatre.

I begin, however, with some remarks on the *terukkūttu* (Tam. *teru*, street, *kūttu*, play, drama). The *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *purāṇam*-s are mostly enacted at temple festivals with splendid costumes, music and dance. The performances usually take place in front of the temple at night, sometimes 10 nights running. The sacred hymns are sung in literary Tamil with Sanskrit interpolations, the dialogues between the gods also being spoken in literary Tamil, while the other characters use the local Tamil dialect. A sacred code also exists, only being used on the stage for communication between the actors in the *terukkūttu*, the *kūttu kārar* (Tam. *kūttu*, play, drama; *kāraṉ*, doer, possessor), and not in drama itself.

The place where the ritual is carried out, the stage, is regarded as a sanctum sanctorum which has been transferred outside the temple[2]. This gives low caste and outcaste actors and spectators an opportunity to be in immediate contact with the sacred area and to participate directly in the sacred performances. These performances are intended not just for a profane audience, but mainly for the village deity, on whom everyone is existentially dependent[3]. The subjects being staged become lived reality during that night. Actors and spectators are involved in this large performance in identical fashion in which everybody playing his role in the drama as a devotee of the deity and thus attaining *mōkṣa*,

If we now direct our attention towards the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*, who is the link or bridge between the actors on the stage, i.e. the gods, heroes and *asura*-s (Tam. *acurar*, demon) on the one hand and the audience on the other, the details of his social rank and status will become important.

Within the village community, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* has the same social rank as the other *kūttukārar*, always a low one, *kūttukārar* being of low caste. However, they enjoy special status with regard both to the other members of their caste and to high-caste members of the village, including Brahmans. This is because of the close contact they have with deities at certain times of their lives, which gives them a status comparable with that of a priest. Their presence in the houses of Brahmans or high-castes brings blessings and salvation, and expels illness and evil forces.

In *terukkūttu* group the *vāttiyār*, their teacher or leader, allots the different roles at the last minute before the performance begins. This means that there are no specializations, nor rehearsals, for the particular role that the actor is to play on this night. Every *kūttukāraṉ* is therefore able to perform every role, whichever the *vāttiyār* gives him, with one exception — the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*. His role requires special talents, mainly wit, humour and a quick grasp of situations, in short an extraordinary mental flexibility. A particularly talented *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is usually hired by a number of established groups, since the success of the drama is mostly dependent on his talents.

The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* has tasks both "behind" and "in front of" the curtain.

The tasks "behind the curtain" are — using the terminology of the European world of theatre — those of director, dramaturgue and choregrapher. This means that the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* gives instructions concerning the structure of the play, directs the drama, and discusses with the dancers the exact figures to be danced. However, it must be appreciated that the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ's* advice has nothing to do with creativity, in contrast with his activities "in front of the curtain". Thus, these essentially European concepts are not quite appropriate descriptions of him. Rather, he ensures that the traditional prescriptions are followed. Thus, he is the guardian of tradition, and the rope or *cūttiram* which holds the traditional framework of the drama together. Tradition is a time factor which the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* handles and which, among other things, he helps to shape. Another dimension of time occurs each evening in the *terukkūttu* festival period: a performance of the *Mahābhārata* can last up to 40 nights, or just a single night, depending on the villagers financial situation or what pressing tasks they may have. A single night means an average of 8 to 10 hours performance, sometimes only 6 hours. It is the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* who decides how long a scene should last and how intense it should be.

If we now turn to the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ's* tasks "in front of the curtain", we

will see that, with respect to his own part in the drama, he sometimes appears as a marginal figure, but at the same time he is a sort of mediator, which places him in the centre.

The roles or functions that the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* plays in a drama can briefly be shown with examples:

A servant is urgently needed to bring a glass of water, a messenger has to be sent to the king. Those roles, which are not occupied in the drama itself, have to be played by the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*. As he is the only one whose costume is so neutral that a cloth around his head turns him into a messenger and a cloth arround his shoulders turns him into a servant, it is only he, who is able to play that kind of minor roles.

Another task of the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ's* is to bring the actors' costumes, which often become disordered by the dancing, back into good order again. During the night performances, even if drama lasts for many nights, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is the only one who is always on the stage — the other roles are not permanently filled. The mighty kings, heros, asura-s and gods appear in bright costumes, wearing heavy wooden crowns (Tam. *Kirīṭam,* crown, diadem), for example.

The dance, which continues throughout the night, requires great stamina on the part of the performer, who often reaches the limit of his ability to perform, especially since custom demands fasting or the observance of other restrictions on taking food, particularly by those who play certain select roles. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* keeps a careful watch on the condition of the actors and relieves them whenever necessary with his interludes of fun, acrobatics and dance. If he fails to take note of emergencies or if the relief he provides is inadequate, dancers might even break down on stage. The gaps in the play's action caused by his interludes are more or less made good by the skillful speech and action of the *kaṭṭiiyaṅkāraṉ*.

Other interruptions in the play may arise sometimes when an actor misses his entry or forgets his text. On such occasions the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* holds the threads of the action intact, spinning it out further, if necessary. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* also takes on the role of prompter should the need arise, delivering the missing dialogue in a low tone or signalling to an actor to come up on stage.

The functions of the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* described so far are in the nature of mediating, holding things together, bridging the gap etc., analogous with the functions of a *cūttiram,* cord or thread. In the ensuing section , we shall see how this idea of a *cūttiram* draws the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* into the field of conflict between gods and humans and makes him do things which give the drama an existential significance as lived reality for all the participants,.especially the village.

First, he sets the action of the play rolling. He jumps on to the stage, dances, and sings a *rāga* (Tam. *rākam*, specific melody type) in *ati-tāḷam*.

The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* has come,
look, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is here.

By dancing a few short rounds, describing a circle on the stage and making use of some special dance steps exclusively reserved to him, he assumes charge of the ritual space and turns the stage, which is initially neutral or secular, into a hallowed and sanctified spot, where the battle of *kurukṣetra* can take place and the hero gains victory over the evil of the world among humans — for instance, in the hearts of the spectators. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* will also ensure that the place of ritual is not desecrated by preventing, for instance, anyone wearing shoes or any animal thought to be unclean from stepping on to the stage. It is his duty to perform, whenever necessary, a ritual purification of the sacred space. After the inaugural dance, he assures the spectators that all the actors will do their best to make the play a success, and requests their indulgence in advance for any mishap or hitch that should arise, for which he will hold himself solely responsible.

He then announces, with dramatic speech and gestures, the arrival of the king or hero on the stage. Women characters and minor roles are, as a rule, not introduced by the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*. But it is not merely the power and pomp of the king that is impressed upon the spectators. He describes in glowing terms the setting of the events concerned. The palace of *Hastināpura* in all its glory rises before the eyes of the public. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* sweeps away the space between the stage and the spectators, the latter being no longer just spectators, but participants, caught up and drawn into the vortex of the action. The emotional involvement of the public largely depends upon the ability of the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* to conjure up in the spectators imagination a setting that does not actually exist. He gains mastery not only over time, as we have seen, but also over space, in which actors and spectators, gods and human beings, all find themselves.

The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* overcomes whatever separates the worlds from each other and creates a single scene in which the great drama of the village deity, the bringer of blessings, will be enacted. Everyone must play a role in the play, whether as demon, hero, or a laughing or weeping spectator. Everyone is woven into the texture of action in his own way, thereby attaining *mōkṣa*. The pivotal role of mediator in this action is assigned to the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*.

He plays with the fantasy of the spectators, whether as stage designer or as entertaining clown. In his role as buffoon and clown, he finds the scope he needs to be a mediator. He is the only figure who may and can speak to gods and humans alike. None of the other actors usually come into direct

verbal contact with the audiene, nor do they leave the sanctified space of the stage and to step into the ordinary world of the spectators, as the *kaṭṭtiyaṅkāraṉ* does. The privilege of being able to step into both the sanctified and the ordinary world should also be viewed symbolically: the *kaṭṭiyaṅkaraṉ* translates songs and dialogues from literary Tamil, that is, he speaks in the local dialect, interpreting and explaining what has been said and sung. The plot of the play is often very complicated, because of the local legends that are woven into the large epics. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* brings out the relationship between different events and puts together the loose ends of the story whose threads might have snapped in the minds of the spectators. No one would be able to follow a complicated plot the whole night, following a hard day's work if the *kaṭṭiyaṉkāraṉ* did not joke with and talk to the spectators.

The comic interludes are of different sorts:

1. Pure entertainment, providing amusement or enjoyment to the public. In this way, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* regulates and manipulates the factor of time. If the action has to be prolonged, obscene jokes, mimicry and gestures as well as acrobatic interludes may be introduced. Frequently the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* makes use of clever play on words or puns, for which the Tamil language is well-suited, with its distinctive nuances and niceties.

2. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* introduces fun and humour specifically for the purpose of interpretation. For example, he speaks to one of the supernatural figures, pretending to be completely stupid, deliberately misunderstanding the context, so that when the character sets the matter straight, has intention and purpose are made clear to the spectators. As the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is well informed about events and problems in the village, he sometimes recreates actual relationships and situations. After all, the problems of the gods are those of humans too, though they may manifest themselves in a different form. For example, of the character Nāratar, one of the divine messengers well-known in the *Mahābhārata,* it is said in *terukkūttu* that he would create at least three problems a day for himself and for others, otherwise his head would burst. But he is certainly able to solve all problems if he puts his mind to it. Nāratar has enough confidence in his skills, he thinks creatively of ways and means to solve the problems, and he "lets everything come that comes and lets everything go that goes" *(terukkūttu—rākam)*.[4] Of course, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* has a great deal to say about the problems of human beings, ranging from unexpected fatalities in the village and conflicts between families to the unfaithful husband. All these are delineated with special joy and care.

A characteristic feature of the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is his absolute lack of respect for gods and especially goddesses. He makes advances to them, makes unambiguous suggestions to them, and makes obscene jokes about their private

parts. It is mainly by means of such jokes that the *kaṭṭiyaṅkaraṉ* sweeps away the boundary between gods and humans. Gods are made humans; humans are made into Gods (They being with the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ's* help in a position to identify with the gods and their problems). The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* sometimes leaves the stage at such points, going among the audiance and back again, thus conveying his message also by outward signs. He becomes the purveyor of Hindu world views and values, freeing them, however, from their abstraction and making them real for the people of the village. Macrocosm and microcosm come together and the nearness of the Gods, the contact with them, if only for night, leaves behind a sense of freedom in the spectator, giving him the confidence and trust to solve everyday problems and enabling him to endure suffering.

3. Suffering, caused mainly by the low caste-status of the spectators and actors. In the real world, one bows to the inevitable. What takes place in the play with the help of the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is unimaginable in the real world: The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* hits the Brahman characters brought up on a stage with a sort of whip while verbally ridiculing and humiliating them. The greater the pain of the tortured, the greater is the hilarity and excitement of the spectators. Lack of respect for the Gods and for the Brahmans, is a privilege enjoyed only by he who has access to both worlds but who belongs to neither in reality.

4. A fourth function of the clownish role of *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is to provide relief from the sacral tension which no ordinary human being can cope with. For example, when Duḥśāsana pulls off the sari of Draupadī to cause her extreme shame and humiliation, the emotional involvement of the spectators becomes so intense that some of them get an altered stage of consciousness. As soon as the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* notices this, he quickly starts making jokes, for example, imitating Duḥśāsana. The comic element relieves the tension which had been threatening to engulf the spectators. The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* thus watches closely not only the progress of the play but also the reactions of the spectators and intervenes whenever necessary in the course of the action. Just like a *cūttiram* or thread, he is capable of holding the actors and the spectators together, so too, can separate them if circumstances demand.

Though in literature, the *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* is designated as a clown[5], his make-up has no resemblance to that of any other clown known to us. His facial make-up symbolizes, both in colour and form, the worlds between which he acts as mediator, and the complementary colours red and green being used very often. One end of his painted moustache points upwards, the other downwards. His dusky pink colour, together with the bright silvery glitter on his face and hands, lends a glowing brightness to his appearance. His costume consists of a pair of trousers or *vēṣṭi* and a narrow, gaudily coloured jacket. When playing minor roles, he wears a shawl around his shoulders or on his head. He always carries a wooden sword in his hand, with which he can, when necessary, threaten

gods or demons or, at dramatic moments, forcefully strike the wooden desk placed in front of the musicians.

The *kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ*, acting as a *cūttiram* or thread, binds together the *kūttukāraṉ* in the ritual event and unites the spectators who participate eagerly in the battle of Kurukṣētra and in the immortal love of Rāma and Sīta. For a few nights during the year he satisfies the desire which finds its expression in many myths all over the world, uniting the earth with heaven, the world of the humans with the world of the gods.

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1. All translations and transliterations have been taken from the *Tamil Lexicon*, 1982.
2. Link 1991 : 5ff.
3. See Link 1992.
4. Song and role definition of Nāratar from : *Rāma-mantiram, terukkūttu*, Selvaraju *terukkūttu* group; enacted 22-23 March 1988, Putuppākkam.
5. For *Kaṭṭiyaṅkāraṉ* also see Arivunambi 1978 : 42ff; Frasca 1984 : 260; Gunasegaran 1985 : 3; Hiltebeital 1988 : 163; Iyer 1966 : 15; Malten 1981; Padmavathi 1987 : 12ff.

   See also Bhat 1959; Kuiper 1979; Shulman 1985 and the general theory concerning ritual Clowns of Don Handelman (1981 : 321-324).

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SYMBOLIC STRUCTURES IN A FOLKTALE: A SOUTH INDIAN INCEST TALE

A. Anand

A number of scholars have studied incest tales in the light of oedipus complex. Several studies pertaining to Indian incest tales existing in India are significant. Karve (1950) studied a Marathi version of an oedipus story. Devereux (1951) examined the oedipus situation and its consequences in epics of ancient India. A. K. Ramanujan (1972) in *Indian Literature* discussed the Indian oedipus and showed how Indian oedipus tales are different from those of the west. Roy (1975) studied father-daughter relations in Bengal. While Goldman (1978) analysed fathers, sons and gurus and oedipal conflict in the Sanskrit epics, Ramanujan (1983: 234-261) brought together the most complete set of Indian oedipus texts to-date.

All the above works drawn from different sources, focus their attention on oedipus complex, and incest in different cultures. The present study describes, analyses and interprets a South Indian incest tale in relation to the ethno-cultural pattern of a given society. I was on my field trip to the town of Rajahmundry located on the Southern Bank of the River Godavari, in the state of Andhra Pradesh in Southern India. After recording the present tale about the sacredness of the River Godavari from an informant, I planned to go to Rajahmundry to document and record variants of this tale if any. In the field area an informant revealed a similar incest story about the sacredness of the river Narmada.[1] Evidently, similar incest tales are told in this area.[2] I collected this tale in the month of January 1992.

The literature surveyed so far is concerned with the oedipal complexities and oedipal structures in incest tales. The present tale in relation to the sacredness of the waters of the River Godavari is unique in certain ways. The present paper discusses the symbolic aspects of the tale by looking at structural relationships between the tale and the festival it is associated with.

The Tale: (This tale was given by Mr. Kishore of Hyderabad).

Sometime in the past, in a village on the banks of the River Godavari, there lived a poor brahmin with his wife and only son. His wife was pretty, and so too was her son. It was time for the river water festival *Pushkara* (twelve

years), which occurs once in twelve years. A wealthy man went to this village to offer oblations in the sacred waters of the river on the auspicious occasion of *Pushkara*. When he stayed with the brahmin family as a guest his eyes fell on the beautiful wife of the brahmin. He lured her by his riches and she eloped with him. The rich man enjoyed her company for a few years, and later deserted her. She took to prostitution and continued that profession for twelve long years. And again it was time for the river water festival. She went to *Pushkara* festival to solicit customers. By that time her son had grown into a young man. He resembled her both physically and mentally. He took part in the mela; he was looking for beautiful girls. The mother and the son, unaware of their relationship, were attracted to each other, and had sex. The next day, the brahmin boy found that he contracted leprosy. It was the curse of the gods on men who had intercourse with their mothers. But the young brahmin boy didn't know that. He felt it terrible to live as a leper all his life. He decided to commit suicide. He jumped into the waters of the River Godavari and found to his amazement that he was cured of the dreadful disease. It became a routine (during this pushkara time) for the boy to sleep with this prostitute (without knowing that she was his mother), get afflicted by leprosy, and then get cured of it in the next morning, with a dip in the river. At that juncture, a *yogi* (a saint) who had divine powers of vision, having been at the pushkara and observing this event, revealed the secret of their mother-son relationship and praised the greatness of the holy waters of the river Godavari and attributed sanctity to it.

Before going into the details of analysis we need to discuss the significance of the event *pushkara*.

Pushkara (literally, twelve years)

It is an occasion which occurs once every twelve years for each river. Usually all rivers in India are considered holy and capable of washing the sins of those who take a dip in them. But on the eve of *Pushkara* the rivers' curative powers become intensified. *Pushkara* lasts for twelve days each time. This festival starts on the day when the planet enters the Lion in the Zodiac.

Godavari is a sacred river and a huge religious congregation takes place involving hundreds of thousands of people at this time. According to traditional belief *mukkoti devathalu* (three crore gods) take a holy dip in the Godavari during the *pushkara*, and those who take a holy dip, during this period get rid of their sins, and be blessed with *Janmarahityam* (no rebirth). There are stories about the miraculous spiritual powers about each of these rivers.

The ritual festival performed once in twelve years is celebrated with pomp and glory involving different people from different regions of the country. *Pinda Pradhanam* (offering a ball of cooked rice to ancestors) is an important aspect of this ritual. After the offering of *pinda*, the pilgrims purify themselves

by taking a holy dip in the river. This concept of purity and pollution is an integral part of the whole ritual festival. After the *Pinda pradhanam*, the pilgirim of the ritual offers oblations and takes a holy dip in the water atleast three times.

Mary Douglas (cf. 1966) has advanced a very interesting and illuminating view that the concept of pollution "is a reaction to protect cherished principles and categories from contradiction". She holds that, in effect, what is unclear and contradictory (from the perspective of social definition) tends to be regarded as (ritually) unclean. It can also be observed that in the tale the ritual festival occasion was the time and space for extraneous activities like prostitution, as the son comes to the festival looking for beautiful girls. It is not uncommon to practice prostitution and other such activities on the fairs and festive occasions of the temples and other kinds of rituals. Even in the medeival literature many such references are there.[3] The sacred character of the festival is opposed by the polluted nature of prostitution. The tale thus symbolically represents the inner contradictions in a given society.

Discussion

The events in the tale set an in-built pattern in the running of the tale. The pattern is violation; violation of norms-norms restituted. The chain of events in the tale are interesting as the mother and the son are re-united at the end plot of the tale. This re-union is a panuniversal phenomenon as seen in most of the incest tales around the world (Lessa, 1983) even though one of them dies after re-uniting, in some of the tales. The other interesting feature about the present tale is that none of the dramatic personae dies. This is interesting because most of the tales having the motif of incest have the motif of death[4]. (See Ramanujan 1983).

Violation as seen throughout the tale is a key factor that has contributed to the developments, and finally concluded the tale. Violation in an increased order is a structural development, beginning from elopement to prostitution and ending with incest.

The above pattern is shown below:

Elopement of the brahmin woman ——> prostitution ——> incest

In addition to the above violation pattern, the story presents three structures at three different times. They are, when the brahmin woman elopes with the rich merchant, when the son comes into sexual contact with his mother and when the saint sees the mother and the son, and concludes the tale.

The woman in the tale occupies an important position where she is totally unpunished even for the greatest sin. This is one reason why the woman is important. But it is not suggested, in any part of the tale, why the woman is not punished. One plausible interpretation could be in terms of 'reversal

situation'. It is the female who is ostracized in any society for an act like prostitution. In the tale this situation is reversed as the boy is punished several times for prostituting and committing other sins. (from discussion with Subbachary, Centre for Folk Culture Studies.)

So it is argued in this paper that the tale presents a symbolic structure through this reversal motif.

Let us examine the sins of the boy:

1. Sleeping with his own mother.
2. Sleeping with a sinner-prostitute who has committed and is committing the extremest of the sins.
3. Repeating the sinful acts.

By looking at the sins committed by the boy it is evident that the boy is equally responsible for the sinful acts. The punishment for the extremest sin is the most dreadful one, that is, leprosy. The power of the river is independent of the knowledge or ignorance of the individual affected by this power. The motif of his trying to commit suicide by drowning in the river is to incorporate this element of 'ignorance'. Repetition of the sin is to confirm the power of the river.

It is striking that the ritualistic festive occasion was the suitable time and place for extraneous activities like elopement and prostitution. The tale-teller was portraying two opposing things in the tale which are, the pollution of prostitution and the purity or sacredness of the ritual. He had to use these contrasting elements to resolve the drama and give it a positive climax. The tale took to the extreme form of violation, when the woman from the higher caste resorted to a 'mean' profession of prostitution, a greater sin. The higher the violation, the greater the punishment. The greater the punishment, the greater also is the absolution (the river's sacred power).

It means that, for the sin of elopement the brahmin woman becomes a prostitute and finally she ends up in incest. In the same way, the boy for the sin of lust for women, had to commit incest. The world view that the good or bad done at the sacred places yield several crore times the actual deed, is reflected. But the sacred dip in the waters of the sacred places cleans the sins of the guilty for several generations. This contradictory nature is quite evident in the pattern of the tale.

The tale incorporates the following oppositions to develop the plot in the story and to resolve the tale peacefully:

Sacred and Docile	Unsacred and aggressive
1. Poor Brahmin family: High in caste status but low in economic status.	Rich merchant: High in economic status.
2. Pretty and chaste woman	Losing chastity on elopement
3. Pushkara: Sacred religious congregation	Prostitution and seeking customers at the sacred festival (son looking for women)
4. Godavari giving new life instead of drowning the son.	Jump into the River Godavari (Suicide attempt)

Only in the last opposition is there a reversal of values.

A cross-cultural example of water purifying the effects of incest can be found in a Bororo myth[5] (Levi-Strauss, 1953:140). In this myth the whole world is at stake as a result of incestuous sin. In the present tale an individual or a family is at stake. What the whole world is to a myth, an individual is to a tale. In the myth, the whole world is at stake, which is what makes it a myth (vs. tale).

This tale about Godavari Pushkara has three structures at three different times, in the tale. We may ask what the tale is doing that the ritual is not, and what the ritual is doing that the tale is not. To answer this question it needs to be perceived at two different levels. The first level is an ideal one, that is the premise of the tale itself. The second one is about the reality in the socio-cultural context of the ritual. In the tale, the brahmin woman is committing sins without caring for its consequences. She does not seem to perceive her actions, from elopement through prostitution to incest, as sinful, though elopement, prostitution and incest are sins as perceived in Hindu society. The story reached the climatic point, at the place and time of the pushkara festival. The tale speaks of mother and son having sex and the latter becoming a leper as a consequence. The very next moment the ritual takes over when the boy jumps into the river, which is equivalent to a holy dip. The ritual cures the boy and redeems his sin. Now it is the turn of the tale to enter into the picture and it is making the boy again participate in incestuous sin with his mother and inflict leprosy. This dialogic process between the tale and the ritual (within the tale) forms an integral element in understanding the meaning of the tale in the background of its wider cultural context.

The unconsciousness of the mother and the son in committing the greatest sins and getting redeemed of these sins is typical of the oedipus tale-type.

The pilgrims who come to take a holy dip in the river are consciously doing it to get redeemed of their sins. But the opposite is true in the tale. This Indian tale incorporates both sin and redemption unconsciously which is explicit to the audience and creates a taboo against these great sins.

The 'usual motive' behind attending the *pushkara* is to utilize the purifying effect of the river at the occasion. This tale is not only an 'explaining' tale, but an 'instance providing' tale. The characters of 'ideal' tale are conscious in their actions and the participants in the 'reality' ritual are conscious in their actions. This dialectical relationship between the tale and the ritual at two levels, is a symbolic structure.

NOTES

1. The tale about the river Narmada as told by the informant in the field area: After having sex with his mother the boy is inflicted with leprosy and suffers the dreaded disease till the full-moon day in month of Karthika (Oct. - Nov.) when he jumps into the river Narmada and gets cured of his disease. He repeats the same till the pilgrims warn him and a yogi reveals the real relationship.

   (The tale about the river Narmada as given by the informant contains only the end sequences. The informant doesn't remember the full version of the tale).

2. The eastern Chalukyan King Raja Raja Narendra married a young beautiful woman by name Chitrangi, by showing the portrait of his son, Sarangadhara. After getting married she learned about the deceit and kept her husband away on the pretext of a Vrata (woman's ritual) for six months. Meanwhile she saw Sarangadhara and fell in love with him. She explained the deceit and asks him to mate with her. He refuses since her role as mother makes it incestuous. Then her feelings are outraged and she reports to the king that Sarangadhara tried to rape her. The king believes his wife and ordered his men to put his son in *uppu patara* (soaking in a vessel containing salt). Just before the punishment was executed, divine voice from the sky enlightens him about the truth. Then the king realizes his mistake and punishes his wife. (This tale is popularly known all over the field areas as the king is a historic personality).

3. Vallabharaya in his Kridabhiramam (a 15th century Telugu work) gives a vivid description of extra-marital activities and sensuous tendencies of the pilgrims who attend the Tirunallu (temple fairs) of Lord Andhra Vishnu of Srikakolanu, (West Godavari district) (1960 vv. 204-213).

Palkuriki Somanatha (1974: 230-231) in his *Sri Panditaradhya Charitra* a 14th Century Telugu work mentions that on the occasion of Sivaratri, along with other devotees the minda jangamas (the prostitutes among Saivite mendicants) also visit Srisailam temple with an intension of giving pleasure to the Saivite devotees, whom they consider as replica of Siva.

4. A girl is born with a curse on her head that she would marry her own son and beget a son by him. As soon as she hears of the curse, she wilfully vows she'd try and escape it. She secludes herself in a dense forest, eating only fruit forswearing all male company. But when she attains puberty, as fate would have it, she eats a mango from a tree under which a passing king has urinated. The mango impregnates her; bewildered, she gives birth to a male child; she wraps him in a piece of her sari and throws him in a nearby stream. The child is picked up by the king of the next kingdom, and he grows up to be a handsome young adventurous prince. He comes hunting in the self-same jungle, and the cursed woman falls in love with the stranger, telling herself she is not in danger any more as she has no son alive. She marries him and bears him a child. According to custom, the father's swaddling clothes are preserved and brought out for the newborn son. The woman recognizes at once the piece of sari with which she had swaddled her first son, now her husband, and understands that her fate had really caught up with her. She waits till everyone is asleep, and sings a lullaby to her newborn baby and hangs herself from the rafter with her sari twisted to a rope. (from Ramanujan 1983)

5. Paraguayan version of the myth of the Borros: (M65. Mbya) "The Origin of fire": (from Levi-Strauss 1969)

   After the first earth had been destroyed by a flood, which had been sent as a punishment for an incestuous union, the gods created another and placed on it their son, Nianderu Pa-pa Miri. He created new men and set about obtaining fire for them; at the time it was in the sole possession of vulture-sorcerers.

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COMMENTS ON TAMIL HIEROGLYPHS IN PERUMUKKAL CAVE

M. Shanmugam Pillai

The paper *Tamil Hieroglyphs in Perumukkal Cave* by A.Thasarathan and B. Kannaiyan in Vol. X. No. 2 of the Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies is an important discovery in the history of Tamil archaeology in recent years. The data, with tentative interpretations was presented in that paper. Discussions were invited in deciphering them. Here I am presenting my approach to a few of the figures presented in it.

I would like to begin my remarks with a statement by Sir. E. B. Tylor about the implements used by early tribes and savages which is generally accepted by anthropologists.

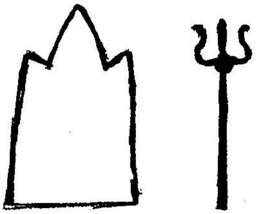
> The lowest order of implements are those which nature provides ready-made, or wanting just a finish; such are pebbles for slinging or hammering, sharp stone splinters to cut or scrape with, branches for clubs and spears, thorns or teeth to pierce with. These of course are oftenest found in use among savages, yet they sometimes last on in the civilized world.....
>
> *(Anthropology Vol. I p. 144. 1930)*

The oft repeated symbol in Perumukkal hieroglyphs are the capital Y shaped bident and trident. They occur 21 times as individual pictures in all the thirty figures listed — Figs 1,12,17,21,23,24,29 and 30. In most places they are interpreted representing human figures. But I would like to interpret them as wooden bidents or tridents, cut from branches of trees, in the midst of which they lived. They are readily available and could easily be replaced, wanting just a finish to convert them into implements. These dents might have been their implements used for hunting animals for food, and to protect them from harmful animals, even before iron came to be used. With these they can have some distance in between to attack the animals. In these implements, both ends could be used depending upon their strength. They can be small or big. Because of their indispensable and intimate connection with their life style, they might have had divinity attributed to them and held high in esteem as is demonstrated in figure 1, where bident and trident are placed on the top of hills and boulders. Even now in the villages, girls draw *kōlams* of trident, early in the mornings without being seen by anybody, to keep the evil spirits away from the house. In Fig. 2, various types of bidents available in nature are represented, which have to be

pruned, giving just a finish, and, used as demonstrated in the last drawing, inverted Y. In Fig. 4, the second bident has a cross cut, in its hand. This may indicate the sprouts in the stick and form part of the implement bident, and such bidents might have been used to prick, pierce and pull out the flesh from the animals.

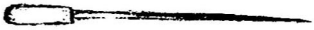
Till Fig. 14, we have bidents only, and from Fig. 17 on, tridents slowly crop in and the pictures in Fig. 17, show how bidents and tridents could be cut from the branches of the type, shown in the first in the figure. The third symbol in 17 may be a wooden hook, used to pull down branches of trees to pluck the fruit etc., and to pull other things towards them. This shows the chronological development in the evolution of wooden implements — bident developing into a trident, and added a hook. I believe that the thirty figures presented in the paper could not have been scrapped out during one generation. It should have been spread over a few generations, but how many, one cannot be sure. Fig. 17 seems to represent the second stage in the evolution of their wooden implements. From Fig. 18 on, it is always a trident replacing a bident and Fig. 17 demonstrates this transition.

We may now examine the last statement of Taylor in the quotation above — 'yet they sometimes last on in the civilized world....' There are quite a number of parallels to the wooden bidents, tridents, hook and the figures in Perumukkal cave, still prevalent in Tamilnadu, reminding us of our ancient Perumukkal culture. In the southern districts of Tamilnadu, in the districts of Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari, *Māṭaṉ,* variously known as *Paṉṉimāṭaṉ, Cuṭalaimāṭaṉ* etc., is the most popular village deity worshipped. He is found everywhere, village after village, street after street, as a deity of small groups, of specific castes, groups of streets etc. He is supposed to be one of the incarnations of Civaṉ, and is the deity presiding over the cremation ground. He is a non-vegetarian, and drinks liquor too. He has no human shape, see his figure below, which resembles very much the picture in Fig. 28 of Perumukkal Cave. His important and indispensable implement is the trident, very similar to the one in Fig. 29, except for the six dots. But at festival times, it has lemon fruits stuck to the sharp tips, perhaps indicating the way the implements would have been used to kill animals. Could the six dots in between, three in a batch, dots which usually represent the heads of human beings and animals in the figures of Perumukkal Cave, be indicating the notable number of hunts, the trident has been used for? Sometimes, in some places, there will be only the trident planted and worshipped as *Māṭaṉ*. These tridents may be big or small, made of iron or steel. If there are rich patrons, this may be of silver, but small in size. One



more interesting feature about this diety is, that he is still a god of little tradition, very much localized, confined to be worshipped by small groups of people, with no daily pūja, enjoying only an annual festival — *koṭai* as they call it, with all the characteristics that go with little tradition, reminding us of our ancient tribal culture. While many gods and goddesses of little tradition have moved into great tradition, he is still confined to little tradition with his trident, *arivāḷ* and in some places with a wooden club. None of these instruments could be found in the Civaṉ temples of great tradition. But our film makers have made good use of these implements of little tradition, absorbed into great tradition, when they make their Civaṉ dance his *ūrttuva tāṇṭavam,* with a trident with its long hand, and sometimes used to kill his enemies, for which it was originally used. Civaṉ might have been a powerful tribal chieftain of the mountains, *Kuriñci,* in the distant past.

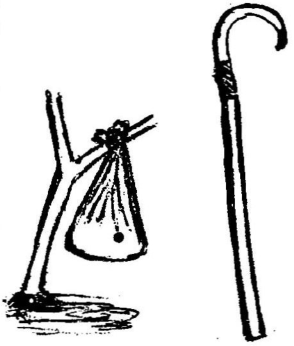
In Fig. 29, the oval shaped pitch scratched out near the trident, may represent a stone or a wooden dagger and not his consort or attendent as according to the authors of the paper. Among the implements that *Māṭaṉ* has, there is an *arivāḷ* too, opposite, as shown, similar to the use of the dagger, to cut open animals. Trident and this *arivāḷ* are obligatory for this God, while a wooden club is optional. The dagger has another parallel even now. The heroes in *Terukkūttu,* an ancient Tamil dramatic form, which survives in rural areas even now, and very much alive too, have small daggers of wood instead of swords. The sharp ended, long, slender stick like picture, with a head (Fig. 16), interpreted to be a snake, may be a picture of a wooden spear used to prick and pick out things. We can see even now, the Narikkuravar, a nomadic tribe in Tamilnadu, using sharp ended, long iron spears, sometimes a long strong stick, to prick and pick out papers and other things from heaps, rubbish in streets. When implements are drawn along with animals, it may suggest that it is the implement used to kill or to be used to kill animals of that type. With kings they may represent royal symbols. It is also important that parallels could be found now only among tribes, or small groups of people in interior villages which preserve our ancient practices, beliefs and behaviour.



Spear used by Narikkuravar

The wooden bidents are in use even now among the ladies of the scheduled castes who work in fiels like planting, seedling, weeding etc. It is a big wooden bident, which ladies carry with them to the places of their work, along with their infant babies. They stuck the foot of this bident, which is

made sharp enough, strong into the ground slanting, on the banks of fields, and from the cleft they hang sarees like a cradle to hold the babies in sleep. When the babies cry, the mothers feed them, sing them to sleep again, and go to attend to their work where they had left. The cowherd and shepherds have long wooden hooks, with long handles, which they carry with them when they allow the cattle and sheep to graze. They pull down the branches of trees with these hooks, pluck leaves to feed the calfs and sheep. Thus, we see replica of such wooden implements still in use among the nomadic people and the backward poor workers. These may be remnants of a culture similar to the one of the people at Perumukkal Cave, of those times. Perhaps a survey of the hills in the southern districts, may throw more light about the culture of such people.



The thirty figures in the paper could be classified into five groups. Fig. 1 to 6 have no dot used, except in Fig. 5, which has a circle, not a dot. Figures 2,3 and 4 have only straight line, no curve of any sort. Fig. 1, the one with the trident could have been scrached later after the development of trident and that is why the two are shown on two different rocks. They could have been worshipped as their divine spirits and hence placed at the entrance to the cave, to protect them. From Fig. 7 on, dots, perhaps developed from the circle in Fig. 5, are predominantly used, with great frequency. An interpretation of the dots seems to be very important for a proper understanding of the figures, because dots play an important role in the Tamil alphabetic system, and no other Indian language seems to have this sort of system of dots. The use of dots spreads up to Fig. 21, and from Fig. 22 on, there is practically no dot up to Fig. 25. Again from 26 on, dots begin to crop in, but at a reduced rate till Fig. 28. There is again an increase in the use of dots in 29 and 30. There seems to be five classes C1 1-6; C2 7-21; C3 22-25; C4 26-28; C5 29 and 30. Do these five classes indicate chronological stages in the development of the hieroglyphs at Perumukkal Cave? What is the exact role of the presence as well as the absence of the dots in this style of conveying messages? These are some of the pertinent questions we may have to look for answers.

Fig. 4 is too large and is interpreted to indicate a procession and according to the authors, all in the top row are human beings and one in the middle is the chief of the tribe. I would like to suggest that only the figures in the middle and in the extreme end at our right, represent human beings and of the two, the one in the middle may be a female because of the inverted triangle

on its stomach found no where else in the figures, and the one on the right may be a man, indicated by the straight line from the joints of the legs. In this figure sex seems to be important. If it is a procession, which I doubt at this stage, the one in the middle may be the queen, a female chief, followed by the king chief at the right end, preceeded by their implements carried as banners. There is no other place where sex is indicated and in all those places we may take them all as men, perhaps their chiefs. At this stage a female might have been their chief.

I have some comments about the thirty figures presented in the paper. Each figure has a number of pictures included in it. What is the basis for such groupings of pictures into figures? Are there clear boundaries between the figures on the walls, like space, differentiating one from the other? Or have we to consider each figure individually? Or have we to do some other regrouping, perhaps like the one I have set up, the five classes discussed earlier, to decipher them? These are some of the basic questions we have to find answers for.

What could be the age of these pictures? It is certainly older than similar hieroglyphs the world over which are drawn on brick walls, but these are scrapped on rocks, perhaps with sharp stones. And as such, they may belong to the stone age. But I cannot say whether they belong to the old or new stone age. Only experts can answer this question. Still no stone implement could be found in the cave or around. An intensive survey may reveal something. The wooden implements they used, for which pictures are scrapped on the rocks, could not survive long, since wood decays quick in water and in sand. Only their existing parallels could prove their existence and help to reconstruct them. The question also arises whether the wooden age preceded or succeeded the stone age or both existed simultaneously. Perhaps they existed simultaneous, because these people were always surrounded by these raw materials, which could be used raw immediately, or quickly finished to be used and both were always available in plenty around them. Or have we to set up a wooden age distinct from stone age?

MANAGING INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN MALAYSIAN PLANTATIONS

Selva Ramachandran and Bala Shanmugam

Introduction

Despite the efforts of industrialisation in Malaysia the agricultural sector still plays a leading role in the Malaysian economy today in terms of employment creation (Sixth Malaysia Plan 1990: 28). Hence the need for industrial peace in the agricultural industry cannot be gain said.

In the context of the Malaysian plantation industry, the workers and employers negotiate through their respective organisations: the National Union of Plantation Workers (NUPW) for the workers; and the Malaysian Planting Industries Employers Association (MPIEA), the forerunner of the present organisation Malaysian Agricultural Producers Association (MAPA). The
Industrial Relations Act 1967 (as amended in 1980) now regulates industrial relations in the country. However, negotiations between employer associations and NUPW have been going on since the first collective agreement in 1954, although on an adhoc basis.

The purpose of this paper is to examine collective bargaining and wage negotiations in the plantation industry in Malaysia, basically by reference to the tripartite relationship between the union, the state and employer. In particular, it will focus on the role of NUPW in collective bargaining in terms of employment, fringe benefits, and wage negotiations. In order to do so, collective agreements between NUPW and MAPA will be scrutinised in detail.

Terms of Employment and Fringe Benefits

Since the first NUPW-MPIEA collective agreement, signed in November 1954, union officials have pointed to the number of provisions that have been included for the benefit of workers such as paid public holidays and annual paid vacation of varying lengths, depending on the number of years of service of the plantation workers. The NUPW record of these paid holidays, shows that, in 1954, workers were entitled to only three days each year while such benefits rose to ten days in 1956, and to further 19 days in 1964 (NUPW, 1967:1). However, this remarkable success was due to the implementation of

the Employment Act in 1955, which required all employers to observe certain minimum standards of work, such as working hours, rest periods, weekly rest days and observance of public holidays as annual paid leave. Even so, in many cases the NUPW settled for less than those conditions prescribed in the Employment Act. Thus, in 1990, the NUPW agreement boasted a total of 25 days paid leave (by aggregating public holidays and annual leave); whereas the Employment Act already provided a maximum of 26 days paid leave for workers with more than five years experience. It must be noted that although the terms of employment and fringe benefits analysed here are based on Rubber Tappers, Field Workers and general Workers' Collective Agreements, the same benefits also apply to all types of workers in plantation industry except the contract workers.

The NUPW also took pride in their achievement of getting better hospitalisation benefits. Hospitalisation benefits at half pay for fourteen days were secured for ill and injured workers after 1954. The number of days was later increased to 60 in 1962 and to 90 in 1964. The 1964 agreement stipulated that hospitalisation benefits should be paid at half pay up to 90 days at any one time in a year. In 1968 a maximum of 28 days was granted at half pay in a year for certified sick leave granted by a registered medical officer. Tuberculosis leave pay was also introduced for the first time in 1968 with workers being eligible for half pay in hospital up to 90 days at any time in a year. In 1972, fully paid sick leave was granted for 60 days per year if hospitalisation was necessary. Nevertheless, the NUPW failed to obtain a better service in the estate dispensaries for the workers.

Traditionally, the larger estates provided free medical and hospitalisation facilities. However, what was regarded as 'adequate' in the 1920s cannot be assessed as a modern facility in the present day, especially as such facilities are not supervised by the government or independent professional bodies such as The Malaysia Medical Association (MMA). Today, most workers prefer to go to general practitioners located several miles away in the nearest town rather than trust the unqualified para-medics in estates (Selvakumaran, 1993:316).

The NUPW also fought for other terms of employment for workers such as weekly rest, overtime payments, housing allowance, retrenchment benefits and gratuity or severance pay as stated in the 1955 Employment Act. A guaranteed day of rest was finally won in 1956. In 1965, this was changed to specify a fixed Friday or Sunday to help ensure compliance with this stipulation of the union contract. However, the day of rest meant little to the plantation worker, for he/she was not entitled to any wages. Retrenchment benefits amounting to $600 were only won in 1969 and overtime was introduced in 1968.

A housing allowance was introduced for the first time in 1964. All non-resident male workers (plus certain other categories laid down specifically in

the housing allowance agreement such as widows and divorcees), who were not provided with approved accommodation on the estates received a housing allowance of 50 cents per day worked. This housing allowance was increased to $15 in 1968, $25 in 1976, $30 in 1979 and $50 in 1986. However, these increases failed to keep pace with the rate of inflation in the country. Since the housing allowance was payable to only one person in the family where several members were employed (usually to the head of the household), living conditions were inadequate.

Furthermore, the type of housing traditionally provided in estates was of the most primitive kind and provided little privacy or comfort. Most of the older structures have remained in a state of disrepair since the 1950s when many companies refused to take a long term view of improving basic amenities for workers because of the prevailing political uncertainties brought on by the Emergency. By 1957 when independence was gained by Malaysia, foreign capital flight (outflow) was a reality and consequently workers' housing was not given priority. The free supply of water and electricity with housing is often used by the management as an argument against raising wage levels. But, what is often ignored is that such facilities could not be provided by any other firm or agency, given the fact that the plantations represent huge acreages of private property that cannot be alienated to private individuals for housing or commercial development. In addition, the quality of such services is frequently not comparable to current national standards, not only is the quality of water poor, often it is only available in common public places; and electricity supply is often limited to three or four hours per day, mainly in the early part of the evening (Table 1).

Table 1 : Housing Conditions in Estate

Year	Substandard Units	Meeting Minimum Standard
1975	99,759	17,054
1980	70,999	39,389
1985	52,539	56,093

Note : The above figures are based on estates inspected by officers of the Ministry of Labour and do not cover all estates.

The union has long sought to gain for the elderly and long-term workers a gratuity or severance pay, on retirement or when their employment is terminated. Attempts to gain an annual bonus, based on the idea of profit sharing which guaranteed against the hiring of temporary or indirect labour, and some type of company share insurance scheme, have been largely unsuccessful

although a two tier system of the gratuity pay has been implemented. This system consisted of $ 50 per year of service, for years of service up to 31.12.1975. From 1st January 1976, it was $ 70 per year of service.

The NUPW officials also argued for the establishment of a "workers' house ownership scheme", an idea that was promoted by the government, so that retiring workers would not become a burden on the public social security system (Soh, 1982:28). However, lack of proper organisation and planning resulted in the union's failure to achieve any of these schemes for plantation workers. NUPW failed to introduce any comprehensive proposals for the housing and welfare of workers on retirement in their negotiations with MAPA, the employer organisation.

Considering the importance of basic needs such as housing, education and medical facilities in raising workers' standards of living, it is surprising that NUPW has conspicuously neglected such provisions in their negotiations with MAPA.

Wage Negotiations

Since its formation in 1954 the NUPW has been represented by the government as a model of trade unionism in developing countries, not only in terms of its size and unified structure, but also in terms of its structured and disciplined approach to industrial relations within the provisions of the prevailing labour laws.

As Table 2 shows, its membership began to increase dramatically after 1954, once the workers found that the union had received government and employer approval. In the period of membership recruitment after the Emergency, the new trade union leaders found that there was practically no competition. In addition the government, through the Trade Union Advisor (a position created in the Department of Labour to crack down the left wing unions of 1948), showed great understanding and encouragement for the new non-communist unions.

However, despite these outwardly favourable conditions for the new trade unions the final test of effectiveness of unionism should rest on their achievements through the process of collective bargaining. We shall initially examine in particular the issues and outcomes of negotiations in the period before Malaysian Independence in 1957.

Wage Negotiations since 1954

The failure of the Taylor Award (1954) to gain better wages prompted the NUPW to sign their first wage agreement with the MPIEA in 1954 (NUPW, 1954b). This agreement fixed the daily wages of rubber tappers and filed workers at RM2.40 and RM2.05 respectively (Table 3). However, the union was not content with the agreement and moved to reach a new agreement in 1955. Nevertheless, no progress was made in making a new collective agreement official and, to the union's surprise, MPIEA proposed a wage cut.

Table 2: NUPW Membership Growth, 1954-1969

Year	Membership	Total Workforce	Unionisation
1954	46,835	294,511	15.9
1955	82,300	309,198	26.6
1956	119,094	309,340	38.5
1957	113,200	307,010	36.0
1958	113,754	313,640	36.3
1959	89,773	311,370	28.8
1960	90,323	314,440	28.7
1961	89,681	285,560	31.4
1962	102,413	316,990	32.3
1963	104,224	316,950	32.9
1964	106,119	306,670	34.6
1965	110,939	300,460	36.9
1966	103,792	290,700	35.7
1967	95,194	272,570	34.9
1968	80,921	270,000	30.0
1969	84,519	263,650	32.0

Source: Annual Report of Registry of Trade Unions

Table 3: Estate Workers' Wages and Other Benefits 1954-1959

Wages	1954	1956	1959
Rubber Price Zone cts/lb	65/70	60/80	60 & above
Wages :(Per day)			
Tappers	RM 2.40	RB 2.60	RM 2.20
Field Workers	RM 2.05	RM 2.60	RM 2.60
Other Benefits			
Paid Holidays Per Year	3	10	10.
Hospital Benefits	14	14	14
Weekly Rest	— One day after six worked days —		
Price Bonus	—	—	14 cents[a]
Late Tapping	—	—	—
Wash-out days	—	—	—
Application of Stimulants	—	—	—
Housing Allowance	—	—	—

(a) For every 10 cents increase in the price of rubber in excess of 60 cents.

Source: Compiled from NUPW (1967) Black and White Book, pp. 1-14.

The MPIEA refused the NUPW's proposals for a new collective agreement, stating that it was unreasonable to expect the same or higher wage rates when the employers have to pay a heavy 'export duty'. In fact, the MPIEA invited the union to join in resisting any further increase in export duties which the government might impose, in order to avoid wage cuts. The MPIEA argued that the government makes deductions at the customs gate and collects export duty but as these deductions were ultimately refundable, the temporary loss of income was accepted by the producer and the workers gained the immediate benefit of the price. However, the export duty was non refundable and therefore the employers expected workers to share the burden to ensure the continued profitability of the plantation. The union was not prepared to accept this burden and stated that it was not concerned with the export duty. The union's strong stand forced the MPIEA to agree to discuss a fresh wage formula. Nevertheless, the MPIEA emphasised that if the government was to vary duty rates again, it would be of paramount importance that the union should stand shoulder to shoulder with them to resist any such moves. The union accepted this request when its General Secretary, P. P. Narayanan, endorsed MPIEA's demand. With both parties compromising, a revised collective agreement was signed on the 29th August 1955. Unfortunately (despite high rubber prices) this new agreement did not bring any benefits to the workers, either.

With no gains in the 1955 agreement, the union launched a major offensive to revive the whole structure of the rubber industry by submitting a memorandum on 8th March 1956 demanding new agreements (NUPW, 1956). It was asserted that the whole principle of hitching wages to the selling price of rubber was wrong. This amounted to transfering losses to the labourers without giving them a share in the profits. The union argued that wages should be based on a level that would allow the labourers and their dependants to lead a decent life above the poverty line.

The NUPW demanded a basic wage of RM4.50 per day for field workers, with a further increase for various categories of tappers. The union also worked out the details of the cost of living of a labourer's family based on a diet of minimum nutritional value. Item 5 of the memorandum reports as follows:

> ... the NUPW is of the opinion that, on the one hand, present wages must be lifted to a level at which they will cover minimum needs and, on the other, they must not be allowed to fall any further. Such a fall would gravely affect the standard of living of the workers, already precariously low. NUPW therefore requests that the rates it has now demanded should represent an integrated total (basic plus cost of living allowance and other elements). This would apply to all grades of labour, i.e. field, check roll, contract and other workers. The total earnings of tappers would still depend on output.

The employers flatly rejected the basic wage structure proposed by the NUPW on the grounds that the industry could not afford it. In fact, they later said that they were not even prepared to discuss the unrealistic wage demands presented to them by NUPW. MPIEA argued that the union's proposal would raise the industry's wage bill from RM three million to more than RM five million. The daily English newspapers supported this view (Gamba. 1962b: 161). At this juncture, the Labour Department sought to use its office to prevent a breakdown in the industry. As a result of the Department's involvement the union reduced its demands to a minimum rate of RM3.25 per day, but, MPIEA refused to sign any new concessions. This left the union with no other choice but to take industrial action.

The industrial action was launched on the 25th April 1956 in the form of a 'go slow'. The 'go slow' organised by the NUPW throughout the country proved to the employers that the new union had achieved worker unity far beyond their expectations (Kumaran, 1967:9). Unlike the pre-1948 period when workers had often been led into violent action by predominantly Chinese and Communist led unions, plantation workers in the mid-fifties discovered the need for working class unity through their own personal experience.

To counter the 'go-slow' action, the MPIEA employed some offensive methods. They threatened to cut the wage rates of the 'go-slow' check-roll men if they failed to accomplish tasks; to dismiss and evict workers from the workers' quarters; and to close the water supply, estate schools, dispensary and estate shops (NUPW, 1954/56:6).

The 'go-slow' action continued for four consecutive Fridays before violence began to erupt in some of the estates. The Minister of Labour expressed his concern over the tension (given the earlier experience of Communist terrorism and the Emergency), which he thought might lead to political instability. Therefore, the NUPW came under pressure from the government. The union leaders feared that the government might take action against them if they did not end the conflict. At the same time, the union's executive staff feared that their positions might be shaken as the number of militant workers increased. With these considerations in mind, the NUPW agreed to end the strike when the plantation employers agreed to offer the tappers RM 2.60 per day (a rise of 20 cents) and field and general workers RM 2.60 per day (a rise of 55 cents) (Table 3).

These rates applied until a new collective agreement was negotiated in 1959 in which a new arrangement made up of three elements was introduced: a basic wage (said to be 'guaranteed') RM2.20 together with a price bonus (varying with the world market price of rubber) and an incentive or productivity element (based on output beyond a certain weight of rubber). Both the price

bonus and the productivity element were fixed such that the total wage bill would increase significantly only in exceptional circumstances.

While basic wage appeared to provide a 'guaranteed minimum', it was nothing more than a base on which the more flexible elements of the wage rate could be assembled. The new wage package gave the employer greater flexibility in negotiating wage rates with the union, as indeed was the case in subsequent years. With such a flexible wage system, the employer had the option of keeping the basic wage rising more slowly while the workers were offered attractively larger 'flexible' elements such as price or productivity elements that shrank more than proportionately with a market downturn or contraction. It was for this reason that the productivity elements was fixed at the highest level of worker performance and was raised systematically over the years as the new higher yielding rubber trees reached full tapping potential. The tapper was expected to complete tapping about 250 trees in the mid-fifties whereas since the 1990 agreement, the same tapper is expected to complete a round of 600 trees per day.

Wages in the 1960's

The implementation of the 1959 collective wage agreement did not meet the worker's expectations. There were numerous complaints, particularly concerning the up-grading of classifications in the field, both before and after application of yield stimulants, resulting in lower earnings for the affected tappers. This was most evident in category B (low yielding trees) and C (old trees) areas (Straits Times, 28.10.1959). Consequently the take home pay of workers remained more or less at the pre-negotiations level. This led the union to submit proposals on the 27th April 1961 for new agreements to raise rates in the guaranteed and output factor (fixed payment of rainy days).

Table 4: Estate Workers' Wages and Other Benefits, 1962-1965

Wages	1962	1964	1965
Rubber Price Zone cts/lb	60 & above	60 & above	60 & above
Wages: (per day)			
Tappers	$2.25	$2.55	$2.55
Field Workers	$2.90	$3.10	$3.10
Other Benefits			
Paid Holidays Per Year	16	19	19
Hospital Benefits	60[a]	60[b]	60
Weekly Rest	— One day after six worked days —		

Price Bonus	2 cents[c]	2 cents	2 cents
Late Tapping	2 cents[d]	2 cents	2 cents
Wash-out days		— guaranteed factor —	
Application of stimulants		— varying rates —	
Housing Allowance		50 cents[e]	50 cents

Source : Compiled from NUPW (1967) Black and White Book, pp. 1-14.

a) At half-pay in a year.

b) Half-pay for a maximum of three months, and for T. B. a maximum of nine months, plus for a maximum of 28 days certified sick leave by any registered medical practitioner.

c) For each one cent increase in the price of rubber in excess of 70 cents.

d) Extra payment at 2, 3 and 4 cents for field categorised as A, B and C.

e) Per worked day for male workers with no accommodation on the estate.

Subsequently the union signed a new agreement in 1962, after ten months of negotiations (NUPW, 1962).

Apart from a slight increase in wages of five cents per day for tappers and 30 cents per day for field workers the 1962 Agreement failed to redress the slow rate of growth of income in the plantation sector. An exception was the removal of an anomaly with regard to tappers' wages on 'wash-out' days. Hitherto when rain had 'washed out' tapping for the day, tappers were paid only for that part of the day they had actually worked based on the proportion of the daily task completed. The 1962 Agreement entitled each worker to receive the 'guaranteed' minimum daily rate of $2.25 (Table 4).

Disappointed with the outcome of the 1962 negotiations the NUPW renewed claims for better terms in August 1963. The new strategy aimed to convert all plantation workers from a daily rated system to a guaranteed system (NUPW, 1963). But MPIEA was strongly opposed to such a change and described the demand as 'extravagant to the point of fantasy' (Straits Times, 6.4.1964). In a period of general labour unrest in the country, the NUPW felt it expedient to call for strike action to force employers to negotiate (NUPW, 1964). However, the Government intervened by calling on both parties to submit to mediation by a committee of independent persons from the civil service and the university, headed by Raja Mohar. The mediation committee handed down their recommendations in May 1964 and the new 1964 Agreement was based largely on its recommendations (Kumaran, 1964 : 33).

The 1964 agreement did not show any structural changes in the workers' earnings. It paralleled the 1962 Wage Agreement except for the introduction of two minor provisions:

i) The price element was now a separate item and was termed the price bonus in the 1964 Agreement referring only to the basic element in the 1962 Agreement. The price bonus now varied with every one cent change in the price of rubber and not with every ten cents change as before.

ii) More details on the method of adjusting changes in the rates of the other categories of daily-rated workers were also introduced. Overall, although the union had asked for $ 3.50 per day, the agreement brought about an increase of 30 cents per day for tappers, which was a 17 per-cent increase on the average guaranteed rate of $ 2.25. Pay for weeders and field workers was increased from $ 2.90 to $ 3.10. For young persons, the wage was increased from $ 2.15 to $ 2.50 a day (Table 4).

After the enforced industrial peace of 1964 and 1965, the NUPW renewed its claims for improved wages once again in January 1966. While these claims were being negotiated, the MPIEA was restructuring itself into larger and stronger employer group called the Malaysian Agricultural Producers' Association (MAPA). The MAPA emerged as a tougher negotiator on behalf of plantation employers, and rather than entertain the NUPW's claims, it proceeded to negotiate for a wage reduction in view of the failing rubber prices (Malay Mail, 20.6.1967). The 1968 trade dispute therefore was referred to the Industrial Court, which had been recently set up under the 1967 Industrial Relations Act.

The NUPW's performance at the Industrial Court must have been sufficiently strong because the final award made in March 1968 served to increase tappers' wages from $ 2.55 to $ 3.10, an increase of 55 cents but the field workers' wages remained the same (Industrial Court Award, 1968). For the first time, the agreement also included scrap payment for latex collected, task bonus, overtime payments, triple pay for working on a special holiday and normal daily rates for double tapping (to make up for lost production due to public holidays) (Straits Times 23.3.1968).

The local press described this increase as a 'big pay boost' and a 'major victory for NUPW' and 'more pay for 260,000 workers' (Straits Times, 26.3.1968). But a closer analysis of the terms of the award reveals that the tappers would actually have to work harder for an increased pay packet. The court recognised that for the survival of the industry, greater productivity and lower costs were the key factors. As such, the tappers' task size was increased from 450 trees to 465 trees, that is an additional 15 trees in low yielding fields and

upto a maximum of 600 trees, an additional 50 trees in high yielding areas per day. This means that there is no real increase in the tappers' wages, as boasted by the press (Table 5). On the whole the award increased the guaranteed wage but reduced the amounts that could be earned from other rates. The net effect was a decrease in the earning level of workers to conditions similar to that which existed in pre-war days.

Table 5 : A Comparision of Wage and Task Size

Year	1954	1962	1968	1972	1979	1986	1990
Wage rate	$ 2.40	$ 2.20	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 4.30	$ 7.90	$ 8.75
Task size	450	450	465	500	600	600	600

Source : Compiled from various NUPW-MAPA Collective Wage Agreement

The third element of pay was the price bonus, which varied with the world market price of rubber. With the constant upward shift of this bonus threshold, workers only received a bonus when rubber prices were very high. As Table 6 shows, price bonus system had the appearance of 'profit sharing, on a cent for cent basis, but this was deceptive. At these higher prices, the company's surplus profits grew exponentially due to fixed overhead costs while wage rates went up only incrementally. In any case, NUPW leadership seemed to have realised that this 'price bonus' element had been very much a 'pie-in-the-sky' and has, since the 1990 Agreement, been consolidated with the basic rate.

The workers became disappointed with the award when they realised that they did not benefit greatly from the agreement. In 1969, NUPW was forced to submit new claims, particularly for new rates and bonuses for its members (Straits Times, 22.8.1969). The agreement gave workers 30 to 60 cents per day in price bonus depending on the price of rubber within the 70-90 cent range.

Table 6 : Variable Price Bonus for Rubber Tappers

Price Zones (cts/Kg)	Price bonus element (cts)
below 50	nil
50-55	5
55-60	10
60-65	15
65-70	20
above 70	20

Source : Industrial Court Award No. 8/68

Wages In the 1970s

After the May 13 racial incidents and political crisis that ensued, Malaysian labour struggles were subdued by the imposition of emergency rule by the State. Plantation labour was particularly handicapped as new employment regulations required that employment in all enterprises, public or private should be reserved for citizens only. About 20% of the plantation labour force was affected by the new legislation. Several thousand plantation workers took advantage of the option to take cash benefits and the free passage to India. It was reported that about 10 thousand Indian plantation workers had applied for free passage to the Indian Labour Fund and that about 60 thousand one-way bookings (till December, 1969) to Madras (India) had been received by shipping agents (Straits Times, 6.12.1969).

A crisis in the plantation industry due to a sudden shortfall in labour supply was only averted after strong employer pressure was brought to bear on the government. The Government response merely conceded temporary employment permits (which had to be renewed annually) to such workers. Of the 140,000 applicants for work permits 59,000 were Indian Plantation workers (Far Eastern Economic Review, 25.12. 1969).

The prevailing conditions did not permit trade unions much scope for innovative bargaining as the government was desperately wooing foreign capital investment to take the country out of the economic recession in the early 1970s as well as to diversify the economy. The 1972 wage agreement therefore realised few benefits for the workers as basic pay remained the same ($3.10); except that with the improved incentives payment, the average earnings went up to about $3.60 per day (Table 7). But this improvement was achieved at the cost of task intensification for the workers, who were now expected to tap 500 trees instead of 465 before the agreement.

Table 7 : NUPW-MAPA Rubber Tappers and Field Workers Wage Agreement, 1972

Price Zone (cents per lb.)	35/40	40/45	45/50	50/55	55/60	60/65	65/70	70/75	75/80	80/85	85/90
Tappers											
Basic Wage	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10	$ 3.10
Price Bonus	—	—	—	0.5	.10	.15	.20	.30	.40	.50	.60
Basic Poundage											
High Yield	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21
Low Yield	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15

Price Zone (cents per lb.)	35/40	40/45	45/50	50/55	55/50	60/65	65/70	70/75	75/80	80/85	85/90
Incentive											
High Yield	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Yield	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Scrap Rate											
1st 15 lbs.	4	4	4	4	5	5	6	6	7	7	8
Above 15 lbs.	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	6	6	7
Field Workers (Men & Workers)											
Males	$3.10	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20	$3.20
Females	$2.70	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75	$2.75
Young Persons	$2.35	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40	$2.40

Source: NUPW-MAPA Collective Wage Agreement 1972.

The hard-pressed plantation workers hoped for a better deal in the 1976 Agreement since there was a 100 per cent increase in rubber price and a significant rate of inflation which had depressed real earnings since the beginning of the decade. But the union again totally disappointed the workers. In comparison to the 1972 Agreement, the 1976 Agreement brought only a 40 cent increase to $3.60 for tappers and field worker's (Table 8). However, the task size had been increased from 500 trees to 600 trees per day. Equal pay for women was the only significant achievement of this agreement. But this only affected fieldworkers as tappers had been already receiving equal pay for equal work.

Table 8: NUPW-MAPA Rubber Tappers and Field Workers Wage Agreement, 1976

Price Zone (cents per lb)	50/55	55/60	60/65	65/70	70/75	75/80	80/85	85/90	90/100	100/110
Tappers										
Basic Wage	$3.60	$3.60	$3.60	$3.60	$3.60	$3.60	$3.60	$3.60	$3.00	$3.60
Price Bonus	—	.10	.10	.20	.20	.40	.40	.60	.80	1.00
Basic Poundage										
High Yield	.21	.21	.21	.21	.21	.21	.21	.21	.21	.21
Low Yield	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15	.15

Price Zone (cents per lb)	50/55	55/60	60/65	65/70	70/75	75/80	80/85	85/90	90/100	100/110
Incentive										
High Yield	.07	.08	.09	.10	.11	.12	.13	.14	.14	.14
Low Yield	.09	.10	.11	.12	.13	.14	.15	.16	.16	.16
Scrap Rate										
(per lb wet)	.03	.04	.05	.05	.06	.06	.07	.07	.07	.07
Field Workers (Men & Women)										
Basic Wage	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60	$ 3.60
Price Bonus	—	.10	.10	.10	.20	.20	.20	.40	.80	1.00
Additional Payment	.30	.30	.30	.30	.30	.30	.30	.30	.30	.30

Source: NUPW — MAPA Collective Agreement 1976.

The last agreement between NUPW and MAPA which was negotiated at the end of 1979 when rubber price were at an all time high, provided for a basic wage of $ 4.30 (Table 9). This was an increase of 19.4 per cent on the $ 3.60 negotiated in 1976. With the productivity incentive and the scrap latex collection, a tapper could earn an average of $ 6.69 per day during this period. Although the basic guaranteed wage was increased, the official index of the cost of living rose over the same period by 21.5 per cent. Thus NUPW wages did not even keep up with the conservative CPI figures of the government.

The Monthly wage issue

When NUPW raised the question of converting the daily rates of pay in the plantation industry to monthly rates in the 1982 negotiations with MAPA, the employers were extremely dismissive of the issue. As the NUPW demand for a monthly rated structure in the plantation industry had been one of the main issues since the early sixties it had become a matter of credibility for the union leadership.

The protracted negotiations with MAPA did not yield results as the employers stood firm against the proposal and the dispute was taken to the Director General of Industrial Relations for conciliation (Straits Times, 8.7.1984). When this failed, the Minister referred the dispute for arbitration to the Industrial Court in February 1985. Among NUPW's arguments for a monthly rated structure were:

1. Labour productivity had more than doubled in the last 20 years, whereas the real wages of tappers had risen from $ 140 to $ 157, or a mere 12 per cent;
2. That a monthly wage system can be monitored more readily to check that it is above the national poverty line (which was expressed in terms of monthly income); and
3. A monthly income was already 'guaranteed' by Section 16 of the Employment Act which required that the incomes of plantation workers should be 'topped up' every month, as if they had worked for at least 24 days of the month.

Table 9: NUPW-MAPA Rubber Tappers and Field Workers Wage Agreement, 1979

Price Zone (cents Per lb)	65/70	70/75	75/80	80/85	85/90	90/100	100/110	110/120
Tappers								
Basic Wage	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30
Price Bonus	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20
Basic Poundage								
High Yield	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21
Low Yield	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Incentive								
High Yield	10	11	12	13	14	14	14	15
Low Yield	12	13	14	15	16	16	16	17
Scrap Rate								
(per lb wet)	5	6	6	7	7	7	7	7
Field Workers (Men & Women)								
Basic Wage	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30	$ 4.30
Price Bonus	20	20	40	40	40	60	1.00	1.20
Additional Payment (in cents)	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50

Source: NUPW-MAPA field and General Employees' Agreement, 1979.

In March 1986, after about one month of hearings, the Industrial Court rejected the NUPW claims on the following grounds which appeared to emphasise the employers' arguments (Industrial Court Award, 1986):

1. The daily rate structure of wages assured a decent level of earnings to hard-working employees in estates while ensuring high productivity for the industry;
2. The monthly wage structure would destabilise the industry and result in lower employment all round; and
3. The Court felt the NUPW did not present a convincing case for the monthly rated structure and went to some length to question the credibility of the union whose own estates in Kelantan and Sungei Siput had not adopted the 'monthly pay' structure. The Court felt that the Union's case was weakened by their own practice.

The Industrial Court's decision to reject the monthly wage claim was a big blow for the NUPW and for thousands of its members. It is interesting to note here that the Industrial Court disallowed the monthly wage claim when court President, Mr. Fong Seng Yee put in a negative casting vote after Court members' votes had tied at two for and two against. Thus, NUPW's efforts for four years to achieve the claim ended fruitlessly although the union spent a gigantic RM 500,000 on the case (private interview with NUPW office). Ultimately, the award provided a basic wage of $ 7.90 per day for rubber tappers and field workers with the inclusion of some other fringe benefits (Table 10). However, the frustrated union encouraged their members to stage a one-day strike on the 7th April 1986 immediately after the Court's verdict to demonstrate their bitterness over the court's decision. The action was heavily criticised by the Industrial Court president (Utusan Konsumer, 1990).

Neither the management nor the court can be entirely blamed for the failure of the issue. NUPW itself was the main reason for the failure of the claim, because while the union wanted the employers to agree to a monthly wage system, it had not been willing to implement such a system in its own estates. The MAPA used this reason to criticise the union and ultimately to win their case.

1990 Strike and the monthly wage issue

In 1989, at the expiry of the 1986 Agreement, the NUPW started preparing a new set of proposals for negotiations with the employers. The proposal centred on Section 16(1) of the Employment Act which guaranteed plantation workers a minimum 24 days work even when the employer was unable to provide work for 24 days in each month due to natural causes such as bad weather, etc.

TABLE 10: RUBBER TAPPERS AND FIELD WORKERS WAGES-INDUSTRIAL COURT AWARD, 1986

Price Zone (cents per lb)	160/180	180/190	190/200	200/220	220/240	240/260	260/280	280/300
Tappers								
Basic Wage	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90
Price Bonus	Nil	.40	.60	.80	1.00	1.20	1.40	1.60
Basic Weight								
High Yield (in Kg)	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Incentive								
High Yield (in kg)	27	29	31	31	32	34	36	37
Scrap Rate								
(per kg. wet)	13	15.5	15.5	15.5	25.5	15.5	15.5	15.5
Field Workers								
Basic Wage	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90	$ 7.90
Price Bonus	Nil	.40	.60	.80	$ 1.00	$ 1.20	$ 1.40	$ 1.60
Additional Payment (in cents)	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50

Source: Industrial Court of Malaysia, Award No. 111 of 1986

Where the labourer was willing and fit to work, the employer was bound to pay the labourer each day's wage at the nominal work rate. The income was not to depend on what they produced on a daily basis. NUPW argued that the proposed monthly wage would elevate the plantation workers from the poverty trap. However, MAPA refused to follow this section, arguing that the plantation industry did not have the capacity to pay monthly wages and that if monthly wages were paid the industry would be ruined and the workers productivity would decline. MAPA also claimed that the monthly wage would make them un competitive vis-a-vis other producer countries as no other country in the world provided basic monthly wages to plantation workers (Straits Times, 1.2.1990). MAPA defended the present system which it said rewarded productivity through the incentive scheme. The Association claimed that a drastic price fall would make a monthly wage unsustainable and thus dismissed the idea of a monthly wage. However, NUPW insisted on following Section 16(1) and proposed a monthly basic wage of $350 for every estate worker together with other incentives.

The protracted negotiations between NUPW and MAPA failed to make progress as the employers were adamant that the conversion to a monthly rate of pay for plantation workers would ruin the industry. Matters came to a head in early 1990 as the Union leadership began preparations as required under the 1959 Trade Union Act, for strike action. Finally, although MAPA remained convinced that a strike would not eventuate, NUPW called a three day strike on the first day of February 1990. They managed to get remarkable support from the workers with 65,000 union members and others taking part (Star, 2.2.1990). As usual, during the strike it was reported that in order to stop the strike some employers had cut down water supplies, closed estate dispensaries and forced some of the staff to carry out the duties of striking NUPW members (The Star, 2.2.1990).

Despite the industrial strike, the question of the monthly rate of pay of $ 350 was not resolved (Table 11). Instead, MAPA offered a daily basic rate of pay of $ 8.10 with other benefits (Table 12). The proposed $ 8.10 rate would yield $ 194.40 for 24 days. Thus, the increase is a mere $ 4.80 per month in comparison to the 1986 Industrial Court Award. NUPW did not agree to this proposal and consequently intense arguments occurred on the issue.

With each party blaming the other, and with the industrial relations scene muddied by the strike, the Malaysian Government decided to intervene to safeguard the economy. The Minister of Human Resource Development referred the dispute to the Industrial Court and thus forced an end to the strike. Although the disagreements dragged on, both parties to the dispute realised, that a hearing before the Court would be both time consuming and a drain on their resources.

TABLE 11: NUPW'S PROPOSED WAGE STRUCTURE, 1990

Monthly basic wage: $ 350 for every estate worker							
Price bracket in Sen/kg	$ 1.40/ $ 1.70	$ 1.70 $ 2.00	$ 2.00/ $ 2.30	$ 2.30/ $ 2.90	$ 2.90/ $ 3.50	$ 3.50/ $ 4.10	$ 4.10/ $ 4.50
Minimum monthly quota of rubber to be tapped by estate worker (in kg)	235	235	235	235	235	235	235
Incentives (in Sen/kg)	30	35	38	40	41	43	45
Scrap (in Sens/kg)	15	17	19	21	22	23	24

Source: Straits Times, 1.2.1990.

They therefore worked hard to arrive at a settlement, and were encouraged to do so by officers of the Ministry of Human Resources Development. An

agreement was finally reached and the Court handed out a Consent Award that would help preserve industrial peace for the next three years, the life of each Court Award (Straits Times, 7.4.1990).

TABLE 12: MAPA'S PROPOSED WAGE STRUCTURE, 1990

Monthly basic wage: Nil								
Price Bracket (in Sens/kg)	$ 1.60/ $ 2.00	$ 1.80/ $ 1.90	$ 1.00/ $ 2.00	$ 2.00/ $ 2.20	$ 2.20/ $ 2.40	$ 2.40/ $ 2.60	$ 2.60/ $ 2.80	$ 2.80/ $ 3.00
Basic Wage (per day)	$ 8.10	$ 8.10	$ 8.10	$ 8.10	$ 8.10	$ 8.10	$ 8.10	$ 8.10
Minimum quota of rubber to be tapped by estate worker per day (in kg)	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Scrap (in Sens/kg)	14	16.5	34	34	36	39	40	41

Source: Straits Times, 1.2.1990

The Consent Award was a rate of $ 8.75 per day for rubber tappers and general and field workers (Table 13). This was only an increase of 85 cents a day compared to the previous Industrial Court Award in 1986. Other changes which took place in this Award were:

(i) The basic weight was increased from ten kg. to 11 kg.

(ii) The basic weight regarding low yielding areas was set at 7.5 kg.

(iii) The incentive rates for high yielding areas were enhanced by between one and four cents.

(iv) The new incentive rates for low yielding areas ranged from 33 - 48 cents.

(v) Scrap rates were enhanced by 1.5 cent from the price zone above 190-200 (inclusive) to above 280-300 (inclusive). These rates are applicable to low yielding areas as well.

(vi) For the first time, this agreement also provided a provision for the allocation on non-hazardous duties for pregnant workers but this depended on the recommendation by visiting Medical Officer.

In effect, the employers in the plantation sector were prepared to concede a 'monthly' pay of at least $ 210, that is $ 140 less than what NUPW had demanded. Despite generating enormous grass roots support for a protracted industrial action against employers, the Ministerial reference to the Court meant the end of the NUPW strike action. The outcome was ambivalent, although the NUPW

claimed to its membership that it had won its demand for monthly pay. The employers on the other hand had merely agreed to a Consent Award which gave each worker a pay of $8.75 per day, although they had now agreed to guarantee a minimum of 24 days work per month, a provision of the 1955 Employment Act which NUPW had never sought to endorse in all those years! But even this 'successful' wage negotiation cost NUPW members a greater workload; rubber tappers' minimum production was raised from 10 to 11 kg per day. The only favourable outcome for workers from the Agreement appears to be the provision that pregnant women would not be exposed to hazardous work such as ladder tapping. Even with the incentive-rates, it would be difficult for a worker to earn more than $350.00 per month which is the poverty line in Peninsular Malaysia for a household of 5.14 persons. To live above the poverty line, estate workers needed to be paid at least $ 12.50 per day. This suggests that the NUPW should have insisted on better daily rates or a three-tier wage system which could increase the take home pay of a worker rather than on monthly wages. It is this daily rate rather than a strict adherence to Section 16(1) which would significantly improve the workers monthly income. Therefore it can be argued that NUPW failed to address the real issue in their latest collective agreement.

TABLE 13: INDUSTRIAL COURT AWARD, 1990

Price bracket (in Sen/Kg)	$ 1.60/ $ 1.80	$ 1.80/ $ 1.90	$ 1.90/ $ 2.00	$ 2.00/ $ 2.20	$ 2.20/ $ 2.40	$ 2.40/ $ 2.60	$ 2.60/ $ 2.80	$ 2.80/ $ 3.00
Basic wage (per day)	$ 8.75	$ 8.75	$ 8.75	$ 8.75	$ 8.75	$ 8.75	$ 8.75	$ 8.75
Price bonus	nil	0.40	0.60	0.80	$ 1.00	$ 1.20	$ 1.40	$ 1.60
Minimum qouta of rubber to be tapped by estate worker per-day (in kg)								
High yield	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Low yield	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5
Incentive (in Sen/kg)								
High yield	28	32	33	33	35	37	39	41
Low yield	33	36	38	39	40	40	43	48
Scrap rate (in Sens/kg)	14	26	17	17	17	17	17	17

Source: The Industrial Court, Case No. 1/2-17/20, Award No. 92/90

Conclusion

The above analysis of collective agreements indicates that from 1954 the NUPW had attempted to score gains for its members in terms of working conditions, fringe benefits and to a lesser extent, wages. But these gains did not greatly improve the low wages of plantation workers and thus alleviate them from the poverty circle despite the fact that NUPW had the capacity to do so. Although the negotiation process was a tough job in the context of the existing industrial relations system of Malaysia, the union was to blame for the failure to obtain better wages and terms of working conditions for their workers. This is because, firstly, it appears that the union was ill-prepared in presenting their cases during the entire collective bargaining process from 1954. The employer always took advantage of its weakness in securing a favourable deal for themselves. This view was expressed by ex-planters and labour officers. Secondly, the union raised the issue of wage negotiations when the commodity priced were down, which overwhelmingly resulted in a detrimental deal for the workers. Finally, the union's weakness was reflected in its lack of research and investigation into the conditions of labour in the plantation industry. As the richest union in the country the NUPW should not have had a problem in using financial resources for research which could have been used for the positive advancement of the plantation workers.

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LANGUAGE DETERMINATION IN EDUCATION A STUDY IN PARENTAL ATTITUDE

D. Parameswari

Introduction

Language attitude studies undertaken by researchers in the field of education, analogous to the one by Frederick Williams in the 70's, has been essentially two-fold: i) a probe into the attitude of the teachers towards language used as medium of instruction and ii) an investigation of the attitude of the second language learners. Research on the attitude of the parents towards 'language determination' (Jernudd 1973: 16-17) has been scarce, in spite of the fact that it is the parents and their likes and dislikes towards a language that play a vital role in the selection of medium of instruction for the learners.

The non-availability of research materials on the parental attitude towards 'language determination', subsequently, impelled the present investigator to study the problem on the basis of the data collected from a set of samples. There have been other factors necessitating such a study. In the colonial countries where a foreign language has been reigning supreme over the native languages for hundreds of years, a patriotic feeling for the native language on the one hand and a fascination for the non-native language on the other create in the speakers a strong conflict, leaving them at a loss as to what to choose as medium of education.

As a solution to this dilemma the UNESCO Report of 1953 outrightly states, "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Emotionally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium" (UNESCO 1953: 11). However, while deciding in favour of the mother tongue, several crucial factors should be borne in mind. If a language is to be used as medium of education, it should serve a few educational functions. Primarily, it must be understood by the learners, for "incomprehensible education is immoral" (Spolsky 1977 : 20). This linguistic hurdle, it is obvious, gets automatically removed in the event of selecting mother tongue as medium; but there are many other limitations in the use of the vernacular, lack of text books and other educational materials, lack of general reading

materials, shortage of trained teachers and inadequacy of vocabulary being some of them (UNESCO 1968 : 693-97).

In a state like Tamilnadu where Tamil happens to be the L 1 of most speakers, parents opt for a language different from the mother tongue for the education of their children. This phenomenon only illustrates the fact that they have been, consciously or unconsciously, aware of the various criteria that are to be kept in mind while deciding on a particular language as medium of instruction : i) it should be used as a medium of wider communication ii) it should have a great number of speakers iii) it should have a language development, i.e., it should have undergone graphization, standardization and modernization (Ferguson 1968), and iv) ultimately, it should have group preference (Fasold 1985 : 312). Surprisingly, the language the parents choose for their children is not any Indian language, for they have not fulfilled one or the other above said criterion, but English, a foreign language, left behind by the British who ruled this country for hundreds of years.

English has taken deep roots in the Indian soil; every parent has been nurturing it in order to promote the future prospects of his children. To investigate the extent of the parents' liking for a foreign language as medium of instruction, a study was conducted by the present investigator among a select number of parents to whom a questionnaire was administered. The findings form the pivotal points of argument in this paper.

The Structure and Scope of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire divides itself into three sections. The first section gathers such social variables as sex, religion, mother tongue, languages used at home and outside and also the languages learned.

The second section consists of questions on a) the agents, i.e. the parents, relatives or the neighbours, responsible for the selection of English medium schools, b) their motives behind the preference, c) their views on the age at which English medium instruction can begin for a child and d) their remarks about the extent to which the children can either use English actively or receive it passively. Queries on the parents' attitude to the teaching skills of the teachers and the area that requires special care and attention conclude this section.

The Third Section takes one to the issue of the impact of the English education on the Indian culture. Details regarding the hypothetical influence of English language learning a) on the dress habits of the Indian Children b) on their relationship with their parents c) on their tendency to choose their life-partner on their own, lead the discussion towards problems like i) whether the parents find the English medium children distinct from the regional medium ones, ii) whether they will transfer these English medium children to regional

medium schools if they do not fare well in English medium instruction and iii) to what an extent the society will absorb them.

The Informants and Their Bio-Data

The informants were 70 in number, both men and women. They belonged to different groups in age, income and educational qualifications. There were more women than men. For more than two third of them, Tamil was the mother tongue; for a few others it was Telugu, Kannada, Urudu, Malayalam or Saurashtra (Ref. table 1).

Method of Investigation and Analysis

Due to various practical problems like time constraint and inability of some of the parents to comprehend the several parts of the questionnaire, the investigator met these parents in person, explained the issues raised, elicited information and filled in the questionnaire. The survey was essentially urban, for the reason that in Madurai, the place where the samples were collected, the rural samples were quite rare. It is also a percentage analysis done on the basis of a set of random samples.

As it is an attitude study, the investigator sought to collect the varying attitudes of the parents towards English medium education. Stumbling blocks were many. Several stepping stones had to be crossed before winning the cooperation and goodwill of the parents. A few questions were severely resented. In the analysis of the parents' use of language in different domains, questions such as "What language do you use to talk to your spouse?", What is the language used to talk to a friend, male / female?", "In what language do you talk to the pharmacist / nurse in the hospital?" were found highly offensive. Thus some of them could hardly discriminate between language and content, mistook a question on the language for one about the contents, and resultantly took the investigator for an intruder into their private life.

I. Analysis of Parents' Variables

As stated above, table 1 gives a list of these independent variables of the parents.

Variable 1 : Sex

Sexual identity of the respondents was sought to verify Jesperson's hypothesis that "women are more conservative than men, and ... they do nothing more than keep to the traditional language which they have learnt from their parents and hand on to their children, while innovations are due to innovations of men" (Jesperson 1922). The contention is, that women, the housewives, are

satisfied with the language of their parents; but men, the bread winners, with their multifarious social interactions, feel the necessity to use different languages.

A glance at table 2 proves that the trend has been gradually changing, atleast among the urban people. Of the 41 women interviewed, 15 of them had done their higher studies; there were 11 graduates, 3 PG degree holders and one professional degree holder. Of the tested informants, a significant percentage of them were employed as well. More than 20% of them were working women (Ref. table 3).

It is thus proved that the socio-economic structure is fast changing. Men are not the only bread winners, for women too share this responsibility. Subsequently, on account of their education and employment, women no longer retain the traditional activity of passing on the language of their parents to the children; depending on their changed social roles, their attitude to the need for languages changes too.

Variable 2 : Religion

The questionnaire included a column on the respondents' religion as one of the social variables, in order to investigate whether the religion of the parents have anything to do with their choice of English as medium of instruction and whether the Christians have any greater liking for English than the Hindus on the ground that they have been following the religion of the native speakers of this language. Some 57 Hindus were interviewed against the 11 Christians. Hindus and Christians, all alike, expressed their immense desire to educate their children through English. Details in table 4 ascertain that the inclination of the Hindus for English is no less favourable than that of the Christians and that the religion of the parents does not play any role at all in their selection of a language as medium of instruction for the youngsters.

Variable 3 : Mother Tongue

Among the 70 parents interviewed, Tamil is the mother tongue for 58 of them, whereas for 12 others, it is Telugu, Kannada or Urdu (Ref. table 1). A point of observation to be made in this context is that, of these overall samples, 9 do not know English at all. Of these seven, one speaks in Tamil, but writes only in Malayalam; the other does not know the literacy skills of any language what so ever. All the remaining 7 speak in their mother tongue, i.e., Telugu, Kannada, Saurashtra or Urdu, but write only in Tamil. The data illustrates that these parents for whom the mother tongue is one, but the practising language is another, opt for a third different language as medium of instruction for their children. The Tamil mother tongue speakers also educate their children in English; whether it is third language or second language the role of English is quite dominant.

Variable 4 : Parents' Language Use

The next social variable of the parents tested in Section I of the questionnaire is their language use in different fields of interaction, i.e., close-knit communication networks such as the ones within the family, across role relationships like children, spouse, sisters, brothers, cousins, parents and in laws, and open networks with the ones outside the family, for instance, with friends, at school, college, office / workspot, market, hospital and while travelling.

A glance at table 5 shows that Tamil occupies a prime place at all levels. English plays its role only in formal interactions. Of the 70 respondents more than half the number claim to use only Tamil while the others acknowledge their use of English as well. It is obvious from their response that a significant percentage uses it only in such situations as talking to the teacher in the school, the doctor in the hospital or in writing.

Variable 5 : Educational Qualification

The educational qualifications of the informants were sought to verify the general opinion that higher education means greater leaning towards English. Figures in table 1 show that half the number of the parents have had only school education; even in this 50%, two third of them have undergone only primary education and only one third secondary. Irrespective of their educational standards, these parents opt for English as medium of instruction for their children. Thus the findings disprove the hypothesis that links higher education with inclination towards English.

Variable 6 & 7 : Age and Income

The investigator gathered details regarding the age and income of the informants on the assumption that these independent variables might significantly contribute to the study, and found 47 respondents in the age group of 35 or below, 20 between 35 and 50 and 3 of them in the 50-60 range. Similarly, 90% of them belonged to the middle income group, only 10% of them to the lower. However, the analysis made it clear that age and income of the parents do not mar their attitudes. Even those in their fifties emphasized the dire necessity for English medium instruction. Further, like the middle income group parents, the lower income respondents also send their children to the English schools, though they find the tuition fees of these schools a little above their financial level.

Parents' General Response to the Land and Native Speakers of English

Section I of the questionnaire, at its very end, required the parents a) to specify the country that speaks English as native language b) to give their willingness to visit this land and c) to mention the purpose behind their proposed visit. A scrutiny at table 6 makes one understand that a considerable number of

them could not relate English to any particular country or people; of the available samples, 27 were not informed of this factual detail at all. Many others told the investigator that English is the language of the world and therefore could not be confined to any one land; to a few, English is spoken either in France or in Russia. However, these parents are activated by a deep-rooted desire to provide ways and means for their children's learning of English.

Every respondent, excepting two, was carried away by a genuine desire to visit the nation that speaks English as mother tongue, whatever it might be. Their purpose, however, varied. Given a set of multiple answers such as i) sight-seeing and touring ii) experiencing the English culture iii) visiting friends iv) business v) any other reason, they chose according to their likes. Their response has been sketched in table 7.

When their attention was brought to the issue whether English is to be retained in India or dispensed with if India is to grow, more than 90% of the parents subscribed to the view that English is very essential for the development of India. 10% of the parents vehemently argued that the Indian children should study only through English. Except one, all other informants asserted that no other foreign language can compete with English for importance in India. Summarily, parental attitude to English is prominently positive.

II. Children

The focus of attention of Section I is the parents, that of section II is the children: It is rightly so because in a language teaching / learning situation who matters most is the learner. Accordingly, section II of the questionnaire put forth to the informants the following questions: a) at what age can a child begin to learn English? b) who selects the English medium school for your children? c) for what reasons? Their answers have been sorted out in table 8. Three fourth of the interviewed parents prefer an early beginning of English teaching to beginning in late. Most parents avowed that they themselves decided to give their children English medium instruction. A few women argued that it was their husbands who decided over the medium of instruction and that their own role was none or rather negligible. The other side was also seen. Two men agreed with the decision of their wives in the matter of selecting English medium education for their children.

Table 9 categorises the response of the parents in terms of their purpose behind their choice. More than 20% of the parents agree that communication is the primary reason. Roughly 10% of the parents choose English for job opportunities, a second 10% for prestige and a third for higher studies. Moreover, response differed from individual to individual. These parents said that their ambition was job opportunities, prestige, communication, all together. A few

easily coupled communication with prestige. One remarked that English is to be learnt merely for promoting one's intelligence.

For a question as to why they opt for studying not the language of the neighbouring states, but that of a foreign country, all the respondents unanimously opined that English is a language of international communication and that it also serves as a link between the different languages of the multilingual India. The response of some of the parents evidently sprung from their sense of economy. Instead of learning as many languages as Hindi, Telugu, Malayalam or Saurashtra, their children can learn just one language, i.e., English, and establish communication with all the neighbouring states.

Of the 70 respondents, one claimed that English is an official language used in all departments; one more referred to it as a library language; two of them felt that use of English adds an extra tinge of prestige to a middle class person. One explained that, of all the available languages, English alone can widen the speaker's sensibility. Two others clarified that English can be accepted as a common language for the very reason that the Indians who revolted against the introduction of Hindi, an Indian language on all accounts, happily welcome English. For a considerable percentage of parents, learning English and learning through English provide the modern youth a sense of discipline.

Linguists feel that when social attitudes towards a language are negative, the overall achievement of the learners can be relatively poor; the parents' response analysed so far substantiates the view that social attitudes to the English language and the learning of it are quite positive; if it is so, the achievement standard, in the views of the linguists, has to be quite high.

A probe into the various domains of children's use of English shows that it is not so. A question on when and where the children speak/write in English tells one the disheartening story of the parents who send their children to English medium schools in order to improve their communication skills but feel miserable to find them not using English at all. 34 of the 70 parents have no idea as to how often their children use English, or whether they use it at all. Only 4 of them have said that their children use English in most circles of interaction. Thus, the picture that emerges from table 10 makes it clear that neither at home, nor outside, do the English learning children speak English, or write in it, irrespective of the fact whether they have been learning this language only for eight months or for eight long years.

Analysis in the area which, according to the informants, requires special attention from the teachers, brings to light that more than 50% of the parents stress the need for extra care for spoken English, while 18% expects concentration on writing skill (Ref. table 11).

As for the parents' opinion on the teaching skills of the teachers, 20% of them reserved their comments, 14 of them outrightly stated that the teachers

in these English medium schools are neither skilful nor qualified. These details underline the parents' discontentment over the performance of the learners and the teachers as well. Then do they propose to transfer their children to the regional medium schools? In Socio-linguistic studies, drop-out factor is one of the criteria to be accounted for, particularly, in a study of language determination (Fasold 1985).

Table 12 is structured on the parents' attitude towards this factor. 85% of them strongly argued in favour of continuing English medium education. Even the few who promised to switch over to Tamil medium education did so on grounds of their inability to pay the exorbitant tuition fees of the English medium schools and not because of their dissatisfaction. They constitute some 15% of the interviewed parents i.e., the lower income group as against the 85% of the middle income ones.

III. Impact of English Education on Indian Culture

The central hypothesis in Section III of the questionnaire is about the impact of the English language and the English culture on the Indian youngsters' dressing habits, their relationship with their parents on Indian culture in general. The questionnaire provided the respondents such alternatives as i) the modern trends in dressing speak for the evil consequences of English education ii) they only indicate the extent to which English education has brought the otherwise orthodox Indians to the front iii) dress habits have nothing to do with English education. As sorted out in table 13, exactly 50% of the parents agree that fanciful dress habits cannot be related to English education at all, whereas nearly 40% willingly subscribe to the view that English has made the Indians rather fashionable.

Similarly, the hypothetical question about the influence of English language learning on parent-child relationship was turned down when half the number of parents said that English language learning and subsequently English culture have established a friendly atmosphere in the parent-child network. Only 10% of them regret over the growing indifference of the children towards the parents on grounds of English education; roughly 20% of them contend that English education has absolutely no influence on the relationship that prevails between parent and child (Ref. table 14).

On the whole, as indicated in table 15, 41 parents expressed the view that English education has only improved the Indian culture; this is certainly a majority when compared to the 11 parents who feel that it has spoiled it and 9 others who refuse to find any relationship between English education and Indian culture. The hypothesis that clubbed the modern youngsters' tendency to choose their life partner with English education was invalidated through the

parents' response. Of the ones who answered this question, approximately 70% finds the deciding factor in the individuals' personality and not in English education. Only less than 5% feels that it is owing to the influence of the English culture (Ref. table 16).

Summarily, the parents have an unbiased attitude to English. Out of the 70 parents interviewed, 64 find the children trained in English medium schools distinct in their discipline, dress habits and manners, thus excelling their companions in Tamil medium schools. Only four of them think that all these children, whether trained in English medium or regional medium, are birds of the same feather, a percentage very meagre when compared to that of the parents who find the English medium learners far above the regional medium students (Ref. table 17). 90% of the informants are cocksure that the Indian society will accept these English educated children advanced in behavioural patterns, sooner or later. Even now, it has begun to absorb them, they say.

Scope for Further Research and Limitations of the Present Study

The findings of the present paper, with all the analysis done so far, are quite tentative for the following reasons: i) the informants are only seventy in number, thus the sample is quite limited in its range ii) When the data was collected, the parents were caught in a mood of suspicion towards the very survey itself. Getting access to their attitudes was a Herculean endeavour; eliciting information from them one by one gradually stiffened the atmosphere. A few prevented the investigator from recording their response unexpurgated. iii) Not all the respondents were able to answer all the questions, some, out of their reservations, a few others, due to their lack of exposure to anything like question-answer session. Especially, the women informants had too many inhibitions; obvious in the response of some was their caution not to offend the ego of their counterparts. iv) Concepts such as culture and society were incomprehensible to a few. It was only with maximum effort that the investigator could elicit information.

It is worth conducting a full-fledged study in the attitude of the parents. An elaborate investigation is fruitful in the context of the increasing desire of the parents for a non-native language. A study of the parental attitude in 'language determination' is bound to be relevant in policy-designing and language-planning also, for it highlights for the planners the language areas that need concentration, the teaching skills that are to be developed, and the resource materials that are to be constructed.

Table 1

Sex	No.	Age	No.	Religion	No.	Mother Tongue	No.	Educational Qualification	No.
Male	29	35 & below	47	Hindus	57	Tamil	58	School Education	34
		Above 35 & Below 50	20	Christians	11	Telugu Kannada	6 2	Graduates Post-Graduates	17 15
Female	41	Between 50 & 60	3	Muslims	2	Malayalam Urudu Saurashtra	2 1 1	Professional Degree Holders	4

Table 2

Men	29	Women	41
Professional Degree Holders	2	Professional Degree Holders	2
Post-Graduates	13	Post-Graduates	2
Graduates	6	Graduates	11

Table 3

Total Number of women	41
No. of employed women	9
No. of housewives	31
% of the employed women	22%

Table 4

Hindus 52				Christians 11				Muslims 2
Ones with School education	Graduates	P. G. degree holders	Prof. degree holders	Ones with School education	Graduates	P. G. degree holders	Prof. degree holders	No formal education
28	12	12	–	5	3	2	1	

Table 5

No. of Parents	The language they use	Frequency of use
32	Tamil	Very often
27	English too	Very rarely
2	English only	in informal situations also

Table 6

No. of Parents	Their answer in terms of the nation for which Eng. is L1
43	England/Britain
6	America
1	Japan
1	Russia
2	Foreign Language
2	World's Language
15	Do not know

Table 7

Purpose behind their visit	Sight seeing and touring	Experiencing the English culture	Both 1 & 2	Higher studies	Business	Visiting friends	Will not go	No answer
No. of Parents	25	11	11	2	5	1	2	13

Table 8

Parents attitude towards the age at which English teaching can begin		The person who decided over the Eng. medium education for the children		
No. of Parents	Age of the Child	Parents together	Woman **alone**	Man **alone**
4	2 Yrs.	33	9	27
36	3 Yrs.			
10	4 Yrs.			
13	5 Yrs.			
1	6 Yrs.			
2	8 Yrs.			

Table 9

No. of Parents	Purpose behind the selection of English medium instruction
8	Higher studies
27	Job opportunities and communication
14	Love for English, appreciation of Literature and prestige
1	Crowth of intelligence
1	Discipline

Table 10

No. of parents	Domains of use & persons with whom English is spoken
34	No knowledge,
27	Only with parents and friends when compelled to do so,
9	Only with the teacher when compelled to do so,
4	In all circles of interaction.

Table 11

No. of Parents	Their response in terms of the skill that needs extra care
39	Spoken English
13	Writing
18	No response

Table 12

No. of parents who responded to the question	No. of parents who refused to change English medium	No. of parents who proposed to switch over to regional medium schools
64	55	9

Table 13

No. of parents	Their response in terms of relationship between Indian culture and Eng. learning
35	Dress habits have no relationship with English medium education.
26	English has made the orthodox Indians advanced in fashion,
8	Modern trends in dress habits are the evil consequences of English education.

Table 14

No. of parents	Their views on the relationship between Eng. education and parent-child binding
37	English medium instruction has established a friendly relationship between the parent and the children.
15	No relationship between English learning and parent-child binding.
8	It has only led to a growing indifference of the children towards their parents.

Table 15

No. of parents	Their response over the impact of English education on Indian culture
11	English learning has spoiled Indian culture.
41	It has improved it.
9	No relationship between the two.

Table 16

No. of parents	Their views about the impact of Eng. education on individual's choice of life-partner
3	English education is solely responsible for one's independent choice of his counterpart.
48	Individual's personality alone is responsible.
19	No relationship between the two.

Table 17

No. of Parents	Their attitude towards children's discipline	No. of parents	Their attitude towards social acceptance
64	English medium children are distinct from the regional medium ones.	63	Indian society has accepted/will accept the Eng. medium children.
4	Both are same.	7	It will not.

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TV COMMERCIALS AND THE VIEWERS' PERCEPTION AN INDIAN EXPERIENCE

R. Kannan

Introduction

Advertisement plays an important role in the social system. It is believed to be an accelerating force in the distribution of goods and services. Advertisement may be defined as the dissemination of sales messages, by persuasion, through a medium. Advertisement as persuasive communication differs from other types of communication, namely information, instruction and entertainment. Its success lies in so far as it influences the decision of the audience. In the Indian Society there is a steady increase in the level of literacy, per capita income, and a change in the types of occupations pursued traditionally. As a result the pattern and quantum of goods and services and consumption of these by the masses have also increased. Therefore in a society of transition a sociological study of advertisements is timely and necessary.

To study the sociological significance of advertisements, the television has been chosen as a medium. As a recent medium in India, it acts as an effective electronic device in the long distance communication. It combines the immediacy of the radio and the visual mobility of the cinema and transmits the programmes live. Therefore the medium of television has been chosen for this research project.

One of the most important factors for the sustenance of mass communication is support. It is a well known fact that advertisement performs the support function for any medium. "The amount of support, the hierarchy of support, and the values involved in the support system vary from medium to medium and among individual stations, companies and agencies. All media in free enterprise nations use advertisements to provide part of their financial support" (Cassatta and Asante 1979 : 51). Thus it is clear that the finance obtained through the T. V. commercials enables this medium to carry out its activities. Even in a country like the United States of America declining advertising revenues have caused serious operational problems for television networks and stations and the problems appear to be worsening. During 1985-1987 no fewer than 23 television stations, all of them independents and all but one of them UHF located in both large and small markets went into bankruptcy (Ferral Jr. 1989 : 14)

The T. V. commercials which happen to be a money spinner for the television stations, involve considerable expenditure on the part of the sponsors and creativity on the part of producers, organisations, cameramen and artistes. Marya (1973 : 30) says that enormous amounts of time, money and talent go into Commercials. Technically they are often brilliant and innovative, the product not only of the new skills and devices but of imaginative minds. What has to happen to mass medium advertisers as a whole, and especially on TV, is a totally new approach to their function not only as sellers but as social influencers. They have the same obligation as the broad cast medium itself : not only to reflect but to enlarge public consciousness and human stature.

It is interesting to note here that "Advertising" has been included by a few in the list of Social Institutions. Ferguson (1978 : 199) observes that advertising is a social institution. The claim that advertising is an institution is however debatable if one looks for institutional characteristics in advertising.[1]

Advertisement, as used in commerce is believed to be an efficient source in bringing the buyers and sellers together in the modern era characterised by enormous production of goods and services. Through print, broadcast or electronic medium, advertisement reaches a large audience. Therefore it minimises the distribution cost for the producer, if the buyer is convinced with a product or service advertised. In a free enterprise which encourages the private sector and mass production and distribution of goods and services advertisement is looked upon as a major device, enabling conspicious consumption. Here one should be alive to the fact that conspicuous consumption allowed in a free enterprise causes a cultural distortion. It is only to a privileged and moneyed few that many goods and services are added, through exposure to advertisement. The advertisement makes no sense to a vast majority of the under privileged and needy.[2]

1. Formulation of the Problem

The choice of each one of the three objectives setforth, has been rationalised under this caption. In the competitive marketing situation noticed in the present day each entrepreneur wants to have his own product sold out. Under such circumstances the consumers have to be made aware of the merits of each one of the products. Therefore the entrepreneur has taken the responsibility of popularising his goods and services through advertisements. Thus commercials are meant for the consuming public and especially for those who have the purchasing power. In the light of the above circumstances it has become a striking research point to know the number of TV viewers of varying socio-economic categories considering advertisements important.

TV is a popular medium and people of various economic strata have access to it. Therefore the entrepreneurs feel that they can diffuse the sales

message quite effectively through this popular medium. It is a well known fact that people would be glued to the TV sets on a few occasions when films and film based programmes are telecast.[3] Therefore the entrepreneurs want their products to be telecast before and after the films and film based programmes assuming that people would be attentive to the commercials.[4] In this context however, the people might feel that advertisements interfere while they are anxious to see such programmes. Therefore an attempt has been made in the present study to investigate that aspect.

Another crucial question in a study claiming to examine the viewers' perception is to know how far the television advertisements have a bearing on the consumer behaviour. The communicologists have established a fact that the message of the medium does not have the same effect on all receivers.[5] This means that the buyer behaviour cannot be expected to be the same for an advertisement.[6] There will be a noticeable variation among various age, education and occupational groups; of course gender differences also have a bearing on the buyer behaviour. Therefore the present study is aimed to assess how far TV advertisements have an impact on the behaviour of consumers of different age, sex, occupational and educational categories.

2. Data Collection and the Methodological Strategies

The actual work of the present research project commenced on April 1, 1987. In the month of May 1987 a questionnaire was prepared and during the second and third weeks of the same month a pretesting of the questionnaire was done in the city of Madras. Data had been collected from 65 respondents. The data thus obtioned were carefully analysed during June and July 1987. In the light of the experiences gained during the analysis of the preliminary data, a final and full fledged instrument was developed. There are totally 65 wards in Madurai city and it was decided to collect data (using the interview schedule translated into Tamil) from 10 TV viewers from each ward to cover totally 650 respondents in Madurai city. For operational reasons like finance and time this random sampling has been adopted for this research work. One limitation of the present study is that it is biased towards the educated. The illiterate section of the society does not figure in this study. This work is exploratory in nature. The task of data collection had commenced on August 22, 1987 and ended on November 29, 1987. Thus the collection of data could be completed in three months.

The Instrument

The first part of the Interview schedule for this research project is intended for recording the personal data of the respondents. The schedule consists of 27 questions totally. Out of these, 11 questions are of fixed alternative

(closed) type and the remaining 16 are open ended in nature. Questions have been so framed to elicit information in accordance with the research objectives of the study.

Personal Data of the Respondents

The age and gender composition, education and occupation of the respondents are as follows.

Table 1

Age and Sex Composition of the Respondents

Age	Number of Respondents		Total
	Male	Female	
15-24	159 (52.3%) [43.9%]	145 (47.6%) [50.3%]	304 (99.9%)
25-34	140 (62.8%) [38.7%]	83 (37.2%) [28.8%]	223 (100%)
35-44	45 (51.7%) [12.4%]	42 (48.3%) [14.6%]	87 (100%)
44 and above	18 (50%) [5%]	18 (50%) [6.3%]	36 (100%)
	362 (55.7%) [100%]	288 (44.3%) [100%]	650 (100%)

Mean Age of the Respondents 27.3
Median Age of the Respondents 25.4

Table 2

Educational Qualification of the Respondents

Educational Qualification	No. of Respondents	Per cent
High School Educated	202	31.1
Graduates	300	46.2
Post Graduates	148	22.8
	650	100.1

Table 3

Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	No. of Respondents	Per cent
Unemployed	349	53.7
Housewives	80	12.3
Self employed	43	6.6
Teachers	44	6.8
Employees of Private and Government Organization	134	20.6
	650	100.0

Note: The category of the self employed includes predominantly the business community. The agriculturists are also included in this category. The category of teachers includes the school and college teachers. A wide range of workers comes under the category of the employees of private and government organization. These employees include the Office Assistants, Technicians, Accountants and Cashiers in Banks, Engineers, Doctors, Supervisors in Mills, Sales Representatives, Telephone Operators, Drivers, Foremen, Nurses and so on.

3. Frequency of Exposure to Television Advertisements

The number of respondents exposed to television advertisements constitute 83.8% among those viewing the TV programmes regularly. The first issue taken up in the present study is the frequency of exposure to the TV commercials. The scale of frequency has been fixed as those who are exposed to TV advertisements daily, once in 2 days, twice a week and once in a week. Respondents viewing the television advertisements daily, constitute the largest single group with 71.3%. In all the age groups it is only the daily viewers who constitute a majority. When the frequency of exposure to advertisements on the basis of age, sex, educational attainment and occupation is analysed it is understood that in younger age groups 15 — 24 and 25 — 34, the incidence of daily exposure is higher than the other categories. This is further supported by the fact that the mean age of the respondents exposed to TV commercials, daily is 28. The median age of the respondents is 26.6. Among the high school educated the incidence of daily exposure is the highest compared to the graduates and post graduates. So far as the frequency of exposure to TV advertisements is concerned on the basis of occupation, it is the unemployed category which has the highest frequency. Why should the youth in age groups 15 — 24, 25 — 34, the high school educated and the unemployed lot score over the rest regarding the exposure to TV advertisements? This is because the adolescents constitute a bulk in all these categories and for them almost every advertisement appears

a novelty. Further advertisements about textiles, soft drinks, cosmetics and many others will be more appealing to the youth, compared to others. The higher incidence of daily exposure of this category can therefore be explained this way. It has been stated earlier that 83.8% of the TV viewers are exposed to advertisements with varying frequency. This means 16.2% of TV viewers are not interested in TV advertisements. The reasons assigned by them are as follows. These respondents say that there are too many advertisements in TV and in fact most of them lack lustre. Viewing advertisements amounts to waste of time, in the opinion of some respondents. Some others view advertisements as purely artificial and as such they irritate. While some respondents say that the TV commercials test their patience, still others feel that advertisements tempt them to pursue a luxurious life.

4. Preference of Respondents

The next issue is the preferred advertisements of the respondents. Their choice has revealed some interesting findings. Soap and textile advertisements have scored over the rest and these advertisements in particular have captured the attention of younger age groups 15 — 24 and 25 — 34. It is no wonder that respondents in these age groups have developed a liking for soap and textile advertisements. The fact that youngsters develop a taste for sartorial fashion needs no emphasis. While the mean and median age of the respondents who have indicated their choice for soap advertisements is 27.5 and 26, the mean and median age of those who have preferred textiles is 26.8 and 25.1. Significant difference is not found between the sexes, so far as their preferences for soap and textile advertisements are concerned. But the same is not true regarding drinks and chocolate advertisements. While the male respondents out number the female respondents regarding exposure to advertisements on drinks like beverages, soft drinks and tetrapacks, the reverse is true regarding chocolate advertisements. The reasons assigned by respondents who prefer advertisements about drinks are indeed curious and have to be examined carefully. They say that they like advertisements on drinks for reasons like appearance of beautiful models, exhilarating photography and the dialogues in such advertisements. Normally it is expected that one becomes a discerning analyst and develops a liking for a few advertisements and treats the others with a critical eye, with the attainment of higher education. But in the present study the fact that differences in educational qualifications do not have a bearing on the choice of advertisements is indeed surprising. The same idea holds good regarding the occupational categories also, with of course an exception. The exposure the unemployed to soap, textile, drinks, TV sales and service advertisements is quite impressive compared to the rest. Obviously the unemployed category has a large number of youth.

What is indeed surprising all the more is, the reasons assigned by the respondents for the preferences of advertisements as stated earlier in this paper. One could ascertain from the responses of the informants that factors like good songs, enchanting voice, dialogues, cricket players appearing in advertisements, beautiful models, photography and humour contained in advertisements have attracted the viewers' attention more than factors like the genuineness, usefulness and quality of the products. Whether the TV commercials decide the consumers choice or they are merely of ritualistic value as people like only the other extraneous factors in advertisements emerges as a nagging question at this juncture.[7] Therefore investigations have to be intensified in future studies on such lines.

5. TV Commercials as sources of interruption

The second objective of the present study has been, to find out whether the TV commercials stand in the way of the viewers while they are absorbed in interesting programmes. Respondents constituting 52.7% are of the view that advertisements hinder their interests while they are so deeply absorbed in their favourite programmes like cinema, Oliyum Oliyum and drama. Regarding both cinema and Oliyum and Oliyum almost an equal number of respondents have expressed the view that advertisements stand in the way of their enjoyment. This gives a fair indication of the respondents' interest in the entertainment part of the communication process. More number of respondents in the younger age groups 15—24 and 25—34, male respondents, the graduate informants, the unemployed respondents and the employees in private and government organisations, have expressed the opinion that advertisements are not impediments in enjoying any programme and in fact the mean age of those who feel that commercials do not interrupt is 26.1. The view that advertisements stand in the way of one's enjoyment is held pronouncedly by the elderly respondents, post graduates, house wives, self employed and the teachers. Again it is surprising to note that the view that advertisements really block one's interests is held by elderly people, post graduates and teachers. The reasons assigned by these respondents are indeed interesting. They feel that the length of the films is cut and the time allotted for the dramas has been reduced now-a-days because of too many advertisements telecast by the Doordharshan. By and large this is the view expressed by a vast majority of those who consider advertisements as a hindrance. Some well meaning programmes also do not receive their due as the time consumed by the advertisements is more, according to these respondents. It would indeed be interesting to draw one's attention to a view expressed regarding commercial interruption. "Specifically commercial interruption is most damaging during that 10 percent of programming (a charitable estimate) most important to the mind and spirit of people: news, public affairs and drama. There is something obscene about a newscaster, pausing to introduce

a deodorant or shampoo commercial.... It is more than an interruption; it tends to reduce news to a form of running entertainment, to smudge the edges of reality by treating death or diaster or diplomacy on the same level as household appliances or a new gasoline" (Marya: 1973:29). However interruption of this magnitude is yet to be heard in the Indian situation.

6. Modification of Behaviour

This objective has been framed mainly to assess whether the TV commercials can effect a change in the consumer behaviour. The respondents who say that the TV advertisements have not changed their ideas out number those respondents who feel the other way. In all the categories of age, education and employment and in both sexes respondents constituting 56.9% say that the TV advertisements have not changed their ideas. However there are exceptions to this. The respondents constituting 43.1% who feel that the advertisements have changed their ideas state that the advertisements have tempted them to taste different kinds of foods, multivitamin beverages, and use new cosmetics including toilet soaps, shampoo and hair oil. Further some of these respondents say that these advertisements have created a desire in their minds to go in for interior decoration of their houses and also to save money to purchase the goods advertised. The respondents who have claimed that advertisements have not changed the ideas feel that the advertisements are artificial in nature, and as such are not appealing to their minds. Further telecast of too many advertisements, makes them indecisive. The advertisements are intended only to promote the sales of products. The advertisements, they feel, are intended only for the wealthy, and they actually boost the quality of the products, through attractive language and visuals. While some respondents dub advertisements as frauds, still others feel that they are aware of the quality of the products that they use and that advertisements cannot very easily change their impressions.[8]

The present study has also called for the views of the respondents as to whether the TV — Commercials are imaginative or not. Respondents constituting 53.4% of the advertisement viewers feel that the TV advertisements are imaginative. The term "imaginative" is used here in a pejorative sense. It is of interest to note that the age group 15 — 24, male sex and the post graduate category, compared to the rest of the categories have more number of respondents holding the opinion that advertisements are imaginative. They feel that the demonstrations in the visuals are highly unbelievable, do not reflect reality and the quality of the products is not as good as it is made out to be. This is quite evident from some of the advertisements relating to inner garments, electrical appliances and confectionaries. Further, they feel that women models appear in certain advertisements where they are not absolutely required. The claims

of certain advertisements that beauty would be enhanced if people wear textiles of certain companies, people would get refreshed if they drink the soft drinks have no basis and truth and as such they are highly imaginative in the opinion of these respondents. Viewers constituting 46.6% feel the other way and they belong predominantly to the age group 25 — 34 and to the category of graduates, though they are spread over the other categories also. The mean age of those who view that TV commercials are not imaginative is 27.1. The median age is 25.6. The television advertisements have indeed been beneficial in their view. They are not only aware of the new products in the market, but they also claim to have been benefitted in issues such as family planning and savings.

Certain substantive issues like dressing pattern, food habits, and the use of electrical and electronic goods have been chosen to study whether the consumer behaviour has been modified in the said areas. In doing so, it has been found out that the viewers inclination to change is only at a low ebb. The TV advertisements have made a negligible impact regarding dressing pattern among the respondents. Respondents constituting 19.5% admit changes. If at all any group shows a propensity to change through TV advertisement regarding dressing, it is only the group consisting of the youngest respondents, male informants and the unemployed. In these categories of course among a small number, there is a tendency to try new designs of textiles dressing styles and fashions. It is of course natural that the unemployed youth in the age group 15 — 24 who would be in schools and colleges try to go in for new dressing styles in keeping with the changing timings. A reference has earlier been made regarding the youth's choice of sartorial fashion and their desire to try dressing novelties (See Supra p. 9). Therefore it is not surprising that advertisements of this sort have not made any special effect on other categories. What is indeed surprising is that textile advertisements have made only negligible impact on women, with only 13.4% of them admitting changes in the dressing pattern due to advertisements.

The TV advertisements have made a negligible impact regarding food habits also. Only 17.2% of the respondents claim that the TV commercials have created changes in their food habits. It is amply clear from this that it is very difficult to introduce changes, new ideas or habits among people which they seriously disagree. Again among the respondents belonging to the age group 15 — 24, male respondents, high school educated and unemployed, the impact of the TV commercials is considerable if not appreciable. Among respondents who have crossed 35 years of age, college educated, house wives, self-employed, teachers and employees in private and government organisations the impact has been negligible. From this finding and from the earlier inferences one can come to a conclusion that commercials make an appeal mostly among the adolescents

going to schools. These respondents have indicated that advertisements on instant foods, snacks, confectionaries, soft drinks, cooking medium (oil), tetra-packs, coffee, tea, beverages, salt, tinned milk, sauce etc. have infact made some changes in the food habits.

Respondents constituting 31.6% say that they have been attracted by TV commercials on electrical and electronic goods and have purchased such goods. Respondents who are 34 years and below, male respondents, the high school educated, graduate respondents, the unemployed group, and those employed in private and government organisations form a large group among those who get attracted to TV commercials on electrical and electronic goods. The goods that they have purchased include, refrigerators, electric bulbs, fluorescent lamps, mixies, TV sets, ceiling and table fans, wet grinders, electric irons, electronic watches, electrically operated mosquito repellents and tape recorders. It is important to draw one's attention to the exposure of the adolescents and the unemployed to TV commercials on electrical and electronic goods and the interest maintained by them. Of course one would believe that the youth and unemployed get attracted to advertisements of this sort. But one may wonder, and even question whether they purchase these goods as they happen to be unemployed. The unemployed lot of course do not have money to make purchases. However these people can still influence their parents and other moneyed family members to purchase electrical or electronic goods of their choice.

Conclusion

Looking at the number of respondents viewing the TV commercials, one is convinced that exposure to TV commercials is at an appreciable level. When one analyses the causes, as to why the respondents consider the commercial important one gets an interesting picture. The manifest interest of any sales message is to impress upon a potential buyer the genuineness and usefulness of the product. But the fact that people get attracted to advertisements mainly due to the other factors makes one feel that the commercials are performing a latent function in this Indian setting. Another issue of the present study has been to ascertain whether the TV viewers consider the TV commercials as disturbing, while they are deeply absorbed in the programmes of their choice. The investigation of this issue has resulted in an interesting finding. Cinema and drama do not receive their due as more time is allotted for the advertisements, according to the respondents. This feeling may however be subjective. But the inference that one can make at this juncture is that entertainment scores over the rest of the communication types. Perhaps attraction to entertainment is an universal phenomenon and India is no exception. The TV commercials have not resulted in the modification of the behaviour of the people to an appreciable

extent in the chosen research setting. It is of striking research interest to note that in all the categories of age, education, employment and in both sexes, there is an overwhelming number of respondents who say that the TV commercials have not changed their ideas and that they are imaginative. The reasons are not far to seek. India is in cross roads. Since she is in a point of transition from pastoral stage to an age of science and technology, changes due to commercials are indeed slow. Even the TV set is a novelty at present and an item beyond the purchasing power for many Indians. Nevertheless the present study has proved that advertisements have indeed changed some of the habits and styles of the youth. Further the fact that there is a slow change regarding the consumer behaviour specially among the youth and that it is gaining momentum can never be refused.

NOTES

1. Social institutions are organised systems of social relationships. They embody certain common values, procedures and meet certain basic needs of the society. If one examines advertisements from this angle it is indeed difficult to consider it as a social institution. Perhaps manifest functions (those functions which the institution is intended to perform) and latent functions (the results unintended and unplanned) which are a part of institutional characteristics are applicable to advertising (See Merton 1968: 115-120).
2. According to Jesudason almost in all development oriented activities, including communication a higher proportion of the people from upper socio economic stratum participate than people from lower socio economic status. This is so even when such activities are planned and executed to benefit the weaker sections of the population (See Jesudason 1977 : 45). In all probability this is a phenomenon referred to as the 'Mathew Effect', which means "To them who have, more is added."
3. The Indian scholars have expressed unanimous views that the people in the length and breadth of India are more interested in entertainment than any other programme in the media (See Jain 1960 : 15, Bhattacharya 1976 : 49, Amita 1981 : 379, Agrawal, 1982, Chaudhuri 1983 : 28).
4. The film based programmes of the Madras Doordarshan Kendra include *Oliyum Oliyum*, the Tamil film songs, *Chitrahar*, the Hindi film songs, *Chitra Mala*, film songs from various Indian language films and excerpts from Tamil films called *Tirai Malar*.
5. According to the one step flow model, the media are not all powerful; the screening aspects of selective exposure, perception and retention affect message impact and differing effects occur for various members of the receiving audience (See Rogers and Shoemaker 1971 : 209).

6. The audience is regarded as a body of individuals who may respond to a communication or commercial in a variety of ways, depending on their individual predispositions (See Cox 1964 : 375). The Social Categories and Social Relations Theories of Mass Communication and the Individual Differences perspective also support this view.

7. The Mertonian ideas presented in Notes 1 regarding manifest and latent functions is worth considering at this point to explain this phenomenon.

8. The commercials telecast by the Doordarshan in India are required to meet the specifications set by it. In certain countries commercials are subject to stringent set of regulations. For example a code adopted by the Kenya Broadcasting Service in 1959, which limits the content, length and timing of commercials is still in use. All ads must be reviewed by the VOK (Voice of Kenya) censorship committee to make sure that they are "suitable" in "Good taste" and contain no exaggerations or misleading claims. All ads must be produced in Kenya by either the VOK or an independent production. Kenyan talent must be used in these ads (See Carla 1988 : 101).

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ON THE BEGINNING OF BUDDHISM IN TAMIḺAKAM

Peter Schalk

In documents presented to the International seminar on Tamil Buddhism in Madras on May 25-30, 1992, and in conversation with scholars invited to that seminar, there has been a vagueness about what is meant by Tamil Buddhism. Is Tamil Buddhism the same as Buddhism in Tamilnāṭu or Buddhism in *Tamiḻakam* or even Buddhism in South India? Can we widen the concept of Tamil Buddhism to be Dravidian Buddhism or Buddhism in the Southern region, i.e. south of the rivers Narmadā or Gaṅgā? When did Tamil Buddhism start its history and when did it end? Can Tamil Buddhism be classified in one or several of the categories Hinayāna, Mahāyāṉa or Vajrayāna? Did it go through an "ideal" development from Hinayāna via Mahāyāṉa to Vajrayāna? Did the Tamil sangha enjoy royal patronage? Can influences from outside on Tamil Buddhism be identified?

Looking at the contributions to that seminar about Tamil Buddhism, all these questions have been taken up but have been answered differently. To make things short about a definition of Tamil Buddhism, we stipulate that Tamil Buddhism is transmitted from the 4th to 13th century in the history of *Tamiḻakam* that includes *Tamiḻ Īḻam* as well. R. Nākacuvāmi dates its beginning to 2nd Century AD.[1] but not earlier. Even the 2nd Century is, however, a conjecture. Only the fourth century offers us a solid ground for stating that Buddhism is established.

For a more detailed discussion of this term Tamil Buddhism, we refer to another paper.[2] In this paper, we shall speak about Tamil Buddhism and about Buddhism in *Tamiḻakam*. To us it is the same.

By *Tamiḻakam* is meant the unity of the Cōḻa, Cēra, and Pāṇṭiya Kingdoms (inclusive of their annexed territories like *Ilaccōḻamaṇṭalam* and at times non-annexed Tamil parts of Īḻam). The word *tamiḻakam* we find already in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 168, 18. The concept of a unity of the three kingdoms is then pre-Pallava. It is also expressed in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 357 by the word *mūvarulakam* — the world of the three (kingdoms). That can be parallelled to another unitarian concept, to *tamiḻulakam,* the Tamil world in the *pāyiram,* preface in *Tolkāppiyam.* This *Tamiḻakam* is of course much wider than the present state of Tamiḻnāṭu. We do not look for support for reconstructing a united Tamil nation-state in the

Caṅkam age, but for support for reconstructing a concept of cultural unity on the basis of the Tamil language.

There are four areas that in the present research about Tamil Buddhism seem to be controversial. The *first* is the dating, especially the beginning of Tamil Buddhism. The *Second* is the content of Tamil Buddhism regarding its classification with traditional labels like Hinayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāṉa. The *third* is the position of Tamil Buddhism in society and state and the *fourth* is the influences on Tamil Buddhism from outside *Tamiḻakam*, especially from Andhra, *Īḻam* and the area of the Pālas, but also from Java and China regarding doctrines, rituals and archaeological evidences like architecture and sculpture.

In this paper only one problem will be taken up, the problem of the dating of the beginning of Tamil Buddhism. Common among researchers is the opinion that Tamil Buddhism was established in Aśoka's time in the 3rd century BC. There is, however, no support for this view.

There are mainly three types of arguments put forward for the statement that Buddhism is pre-Pallava in *Tamiḻakam*. The first type seeks support in artefacts, the second in inscriptions and the third in literary creations. Let us look at one literary evidence for an early dating, but before that we have to give a small note on the word *caṅkam.*

The word *caṅkam* is derived from Sanskrit *saṅgha.* It refers allegedly to a council of wise men who came together three times in Maturai to codify Tamil literature. It is used frequently by Tamil scholars and refers to a period dated differently within a frame of 300 BC-500 AD. A specified corpus of texts created within this period, whenever it is placed in time, is called *caṅkam* literature.

Some take the word *caṅkam* itself as an indication for the existence of a Buddhist *saṅgha,*[3] but the legend itself about the *caṅkam* and about the three *caṅkams* is not contemporary with the period it refers to, i.e. precisely 100 BC to 200 AD. The first time we hear about the *caṅkam* is in the 7th century AD.[4] The whole concept of *caṅkam* is an anachronistic projection of the 7th century back into far off history. The *caṅkam* period is an *imagined* period by later generations from the 7th century onwards.

Then of course, in the 7th century, we can assume a Buddhist influence, but this influence cannot be projected back to the time 100 BC to 300 AD. — at least not by impartial historians. As historians we should not spread fictions about a historical period. We should abandon the term *caṅkam* period and instead write and speak about pre-Pallava time. The dynasty of the Pallavas saw history in the late 3rd century AD. and beginning of the 4th century AD.

There is a group of scholars in present Tamilnadu who dream about a glorious past that was a Buddhist past. They try to construct a pre-Aśokan

Buddhism in Tamilnadu. That becomes equal to make the origin of Tamil history, a Buddhist origin. Let us look at a wide spread argumentation in Tamilnadu by a Japanese scholar, Dr. Shu Hikosaka, Ph. D. of Madras University, Co-director of the Institute of Asian Studies in Madras. His works are widely quoted and form a base for a school-formation that projects Buddhism in Tamilnadu into even pre-Aśokan times.

He states that the word *potiyil*, that we find in the Caṅkam literature, has a reference to Buddhism. According to him, it should be interpreted as a Tamilised version of *bodhi-il pōti-yil potiyil*. The word is allegedly a name of holy Buddhist places and of a mountain. That is allegedly no less than the Potalaka mountain,[4] the residence of Avalokiteśvara.[5] Potalaka is, according to him, a secondary derivation of *potiyil.*[6]

It is not easy just to dismiss this primary derivation as wishful thinking-even if it looks like it. It would not have been possible to find the true derivation without Rajam's new descriptive grammar on old Tamil (see below).

Since this derivation *bodhi-il pōti-yil potiyil* was launched by the Institute of Asian Studies in 1988, many a scholar, inclusive the present writer and well-known professors of Tamil, went about with an uneasy feeling that something was wrong, but we were not able to identify it. It would not have been possible to identify it with reference to classical normative grammars like *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nannūl.* The thinking in categories of normative grammar was an obstacle and made it possible for the Hikosaka-school at Institute of Asian Studies to persist on its position. This is not possible any more because we have now a new way of looking at it, thanks to Rajam's grammar. The analysis of the word *potiyil* is therefore not only interesting from the point of view of the history of Buddhism, but also from the point of view of the development of knowledge.

We only discuss here the statement that the word is derived from *bodhi*, to which allegedly the Tamil word *il* was added, meaning allegedly the residence of Buddhists (sic)[7]. If this is wrong, everything else is also wrong.

The main problem in this analysis is that the long *ō* is just disappearing without explanation. The Caṅkam texts always write *potiyil* with *o*, but the derivation from *bodhi* must result in *ō*. *Bodhi* is regularly written as *pōti*. The word *pōti* also exists in many other meanings as verb and noun. It means be full, fullness, dry state of wet land. It has then nothing to do with *bodhi.*

*Pōtiyil and *potiyil* are not the same. The first does not exist in the Caṅkam text, and if one hypothetically constructs the latter to prove Buddhism, one begs the question. It is a circular and therefore invalid reasoning.

True enough, it is only in the 19th century that manuscripts distinguish between *o* and *ō* . Usually *o* stands for *ō* also, but in the case of *potiyil,* for

metrical reasons, there is no doubt that all the 39 appearances should be given as *potiyil*. The modern editions giving *potiyil* are quite correct.

Regarding the composition of the word *bodhi-il*, it is allegedly combined of a Sanskrit and a Tamil part. Such compositions usually keep a very long time their original form. In this case the *ō* should have been kept, but it has not. We therefore suspect that it has nothing to do with *bodhi*. A. Vēluppiḷḷai, Professor of Tamil, Yāḻppāṇam and Uppsala, even sharpens this argument by stating: 'A hybrid compound *bodhi*+il coming from remote antiquity and in frequent use in different contexts in early old Tamil texts is linguistically impossible. Many centuries of language contact of an intensive nature are needed before such compounds make their appearance. *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is the earliest text in Tamil to use such a compound.'[8]

There are not less than 39 instances of *potiyil* in old Tamil literature and not a single instance of **pōtiyil*. As *bodhi* is regularly given as *pōti*, all these 39 instances from different authors, times and places must be regarded as corruption — if we follow the interpretation given above. We shall of course not follow this interpretation. We shall make reality an ultimate test of an interpretation and not an interpretation an ultimate test of reality. We start from the conviction that the 39 instances of *potiyil* are not corruption of *pōtiyil*, but that *potiyil* is a proper Tamil word.

Let us now look at an alternative word-analysis of *potiyil*, that our interpreter knows and that he rejects. He says: 'Traditional Tamil scholars interpret *Potiyil* as *potu + il*, i.e. common place. This is not correct, since according to Tamil morphophonemic rule potu + il will become *potuvil* and not *potiyil*. For instance, common place is referred to in Caṅkam classics as potuvil (*Puṟaṉanūṟu: 89)*'[9].

The traditional Tamil scholars referred to are not specified and therefore it is not possible to check if they really held this view. The *Tamil Lexicon*, however, has an anlysis according to which both *potiyil* and *potuvil* are derived from *potu + il*. The latter derivation is correct, but the former seems to be wrong, as our interpreter pointed out. The *i* is disturbing, no doubt, but the fact that *potu-v-il* is available and that a strong commentarial tradition finds the same meaning in both *potuvil* and *potiyil*, makes it hard to neglect the *Tamil Lexicon* analysis.

We are aware that this appeal is not very convincing, and therefore we give another argument to enforce this sentimental eloge of traditional Tamil scholarship. We refer to a morphophonemic rule formulated by V. S. Rajam in his *A Reference Grammar of Classical Tamil Poetry*. There is his analysis of the following case:

"The stem has two open syllables with short vowels and is an adjective. The following item is a suffix or a nominal. The stem-vowel is deleted. Subsequently, one of the following changes occurs: the consonant preceding the stem-final vowel is doubled or hardened, or the vowel *i* is inserted between the stem and the item following it. Consequently, the glide *y* is inserted between the *i* and the following item."[10]

As examples he gives:

mutu + i + y + ōḷ > *mutiyōḷ*

ciṟu + i + y + ilai > *ciṟiyilai*

paru + i + y + *arai* > *pariyarai*

peru + i + y + atu > *periyatu*[11]

Now we can add:

potu + i + y + il   *potiyil*

The formation of *potiyil* follows then a regular pattern and cannot said to be corrupt.

A comment supportive of the present author's argumentation and conclusion above, stems from A. Vēluppiḷḷai. Having examined the argumentation above, he commented: (There are two ways to check whether *potu + il* can be *potiyil,* a study of grammatical rules in traditional Tamil texts and a study of the structure of classical Tamil. The derivation of *potiyil* is difficult, but not impossible, according to traditional texts. *Tolkāppiyam* deals with external sandhi only. *Naṉṉūl* deals with internal sandhi *(patappuṇarcci)* of qualitative nouns *(paṇpuppeyarkaḷ)* also. The derivation of *poti* from *poti-mai* is possible in internal sandhi. This change has to be made applicable in external sandhi in the case of *potiyil.* A study of the structure of classical Tamil to check on the derivation of *potiyil* is the proper linguistic approach to the problem. Examples like *ciṟiyilai* and *pariyarai* are clearly external sandhi forms."[12]

To sum up, the base is then *potu* to which *il* is added. The writers of the *Tamil Lexicon* were quite correct, even if they did not know exactly why. Rajam was not yet born in their time in the 1920s, nor was the present author or A. Vēluppiḷḷai who could tell them.

If *potu* is a pure Tamil word can be discussed, but we are quite sure that it has no connection to the Indo-Aryan *bodhi. Potu* means common and *il* means house. As synonym in the commentarial tradition is given *ampalam,* public hall or more generally a public place. Another synonym is *maṉṟam* meaning also public place. A public place is meant when a text speaks about for example the *potiyil* under the Banyan tree. This we understand.

We can therefore dismiss the statement that the occurrence of this word in pre-Pallava time documents the existence of Buddhism. There is none of

the 39 instances of *potiyil,* may it refer to an open space or to a mountain, that has any connection to Buddhism by its mere name.

If the mountain called *Potiyil* is the seat of Avalokiteśvara, if it has any connection with Buddhism, can they not be decided on the base of the term *potiyil.* We need other arguments for that statement. To test them goes, however, beyond the scope of this paper. We can also refer to a statement made by Dr. T. Tayālan̲ as respresentative of ASI, that there have been made no finds at the mountain *Potiyil* that indicate that it is a Buddhist place.[13]

The main argument, the analysis of *potiyil* as *bodhi-il,* for projecting Buddhism to pre-Pallava literary documents, has to be dismissed, and the speculations about Buddhist finds have to be seriously questioned.

Let us abandon on the idea of pre-Aśokan Buddhism in Tamil̲nāṭu — as long as it is based on the *bodhi-y-il* projection.

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A COMMENT ON Dr. PETER SCHALK'S PAPER ON THE BEGINNING OF BUDDHISM IN TAMIḺAKAM

G. John Samuel

At the outset I should say that the above paper by Dr. Peter Schalk is a very subjective one written with a view to refute a conclusion arrived at on the basis of concrete evidences about the existence of Buddhism in ancient Tamilnadu. The author has taken much efforts to prove his baseless theory that Buddhism came to Tamilnadu only after 4th century A. D. and with this preconceived notion he tries to give different interpretations in his own way for the solid evidences which testify to the existence of Buddhism in Tamilnadu in the pre-Aśokan or Aśokan period. For his far-fetched interpretations, he claims that he has the support and approval of Dr. A. Veluppillai, a very good Tamil scholar from Jaffna who expressed in clear tones the view that Buddhism existed in Tamilnadu during the period of Asoka and wrote so in one of his very good Tamil books namely *Tamiḻ Ilakkiyattil Kālamum Karuttum* (p. 13). The generalisations made by Dr. Peter Schalk in this paper are not based on an objective analysis of the available data. Instead, the available materials are interpreted in such a way as to support the preconceived notions of the author.

The author who wants to establish the concept of Tamil Buddhism and to differentiate it from Buddhism in Tamilnadu confuses himself and concludes that "we shall speak about Tamil Buddhism and about Buddhism in Tamiḻakam. To us it is the same". 'It is pitiable that the author who frequently speaks about 'Tamil Buddhism' is not able to define in it clear tones. If Tamil Buddhism and Buddhism in Tamilnadu are one and the same, there is no need to speak about Tamil Buddhism as a new concept in religion. He can better speak about Buddhism in Tamiḻakam that removes all ambiguities involved.

While defining Tamiḻakam, he says that Tamiḻakam refers to the unity of the Cōḻa, Cēra and Pāṇṭiya Kingdoms inclusive of their annexed territories like Ilaccōḻamaṇṭalam and at times non-annexed Tamil parts of Īḻam. This is absolutely a misconception since the term Tamiḻakam is never used to include the non-annexed Tamil parts of Īḻam.

He writes that "the *Caṅkam* period is an imagined period and that we should abandon the term *Caṅkam* period and instead write and speak about pre-Pallava time". We, the Tamil scholars, wonder why Dr. Peter is so much

upset with the normally used and generally accepted term *Caṅkam* period? He fears that the term *Caṅkam* which is believed to be a derivation of the Pāli term *Saṅgha* may relate this age to Buddhism. The Tamil scholarship has accepted this term as a synonym to *Kūṭal* and it is used generation after generation to refer to the corpus of the well codified earliest Tamil literature that flourished till the 2nd century A.D. There is no necessity to abandon this accepted nomenclature just because this scholar from Sweden finds some connections between *Caṅkam* and Buddhism which he is reluctant to accept. Tamil scholarship is not going to gain anything by abandoning the term *Caṅkam* period and to use the term *pre-Pallava time* in its place. Moreover, it is not clear which term he suggests to differentiate the *Kalabra* period from the *Caṅkam* age. Abandoning the terms *Caṅkam age* and *Kalabra age* and using the term *pre-Pallava* period in their place will lead to lot of inaccuracies in our studies on Tamil language, literature and culture.

The second part of his paper is the outcome of his futile and fragile attempt to disprove the interpretation given by the Japanese scholar Dr. Shu Hikosaka for the Tamil term *Potiyil*. Dr. Shu Hikosaka made it clear that the word *potiyil* is not the combination of *potu+il* (*potu* means common and *il* means house or place). His argument is based on the following two criteria — one on the meaning of the term *potiyil* used in the *Caṅkam* corpus and the two Tamil epics namely *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*, the other on the etymology of the word *potiyil*.

Let us first look into the semantic aspect of the term *potiyil* in the earlier Tamil classics. In Caṅkam literature there are two different terms namely *potiyil* and *potuvil*. The word *potuvil* is a combination of *potu + il* and it is used to refer to common place (Puṟam No. 89). But the word *potiyil* is different from *potuvil* both in its etymology and meaning.

In *Caṅkam* literature and the earlier Tamil epics the term *potiyil* is used to refer to

1. the *Potiyil* mountain
2. A pillared temple in ruined condition and
3. the Buddhist temples.

The term *potiyil* cannot be a common place because of the following reasons:

1. The mountain of *Potiyil* cannot be a common place since throughout *Caṅkam* literature it is described as an awful mountain where even goblins are very much frightened to go near. This steep mountain peak is 6800 ft. high from the sea level and a common place in its peak is impossible. There is no reference in the *Caṅkam* corpus to any common place or hall on the *potiyil* mountain.

2. Regarding the other usage, it is made clear that *potiyil* is a ruined temple with pillars (eg. *Akam* 167, 307, 373; 377, *Puram* 52, 375, 390 etc.). The pillar in this temple is mentioned as *Kantu* and *Paṭṭiṉappālai*, one of the *Caṅkam* works, describes this temple as *Kantuṭaippotiyil.*

3. The term *potiyil* refers mainly to the sanctum sanctorum and the common hall in its front is referred to as *manṟam* which is a synonym for *potuvil* and not *potiyil. Cilappatikāram* and *Maturaikkānci* clearly differentiate *potiyil* and the common place as *manṟappotiyil.* Here, *potiyil* is the temple and *manṟam* is its front yard. This clearly shows that common place or common hall is entirely different from *Potiyil* and that the word *manṟam* could not be a synonym of *Potiyil.*

4. In the Buddhist epic *Maṇimēkalai potiyil* is used to refer to Buddhist temple. (XV, II — 79-86, II 55-59 and XXI, II 5-9). In this epic, the term *potiyil* is used to indicate the Buddhist temple at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam. This clearly shows the close connection between *potiyil* and Buddhism.

5. As already mentioned, *Caṅkam* literature describes the *potiyil* as temple having pillars *(kantu).* In *Maṇimēkalai,* the Buddhist temple *potiyil* is described in the same manner with *kantu.* A painting of a Buddhist deity is seen in one of its pillars and it is termed as *Kantirpāvai* (the deity in the pillar). This epic describes the above deity as *potiyil poruntiya teyvam nīyō* (Are you the deity enshrined at *potiyil).* On this basis and keeping in mind the connection between Buddhism and *potiyil* mountain (reference made to the pilgrimage of Kāyacaṇtikai, a Buddhist woman in *Maṇimēkalai* epic to *Potiyil* mountain etc.), Dr. Hikosaka argued that *potiyil* may be corrupt form of *Bōdhi + il* > *Pōti + il* > *poti + il* > *potiyil* which means the house of the Bodhi or Buddha. This term is an analogical creation formed on the basis of the term *kōvil* or *kōyil (kō + il),* which refers to Hindu temples. Dr. Shu Hikosaka is able to see close connection between *Potiyil* mountain and the *Potalaka* mountain referred to in Yuan Chwang's travel report.

Maṇimēkalai speaks about the pilgrimage of the Buddhist people to *Potiyil* mountain. The second century Mahayana work *Gaṇḍayuga sūtra* speaks about *potiyil* (potalaka) as one of the Buddhist centres in South India. It is worth mentioning that there is a tradition to call all the mountains in South sacred to Buddhists as *potiyil* mountain. Consequently the hills of Aramboly, which is identified with the pass mentioned in *Puram* 175 by which the Mauryas crossed and reached Potiyil, is also called *potiyil mountain* even now. These evidences unmistakably prove the connections between *potiyil* and Buddhism.

From the etymological point of view, Dr. Hikosaka refutes the opinions of traditional Tamil scholars like Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer who interpret this term as *potu + il* > *potiyil.* This is wrong since *pot + il* will become *potuvil*

and not *potiyil*. Moreover, *potuvil* refers to common place and *potiyil* never denotes common place in the earliest Tamil literature.

But, now, Dr. Peter Schalk comes forward to argue that *potiyil* has nothing to do with Buddhism and it is nothing but *potu* + *il* which means common place. For establishing this, he has come forward with a new morphophonemic rule suggested by Dr. Rajam. His happiness knows no bound (which is obvious from the way of his narration) when he comes across Dr. Rajam's book, *A Reference* Grammar *of Classical Tamil Poetry* (1992) which, I think, is written with a view to explain to the non-Tamil students the morphophonemic changes, especially the internal sandhi, that take place in earliest Tamil works.

Dr. Peter's prologue to his arguement is amazing and he begins with an epic style as if he is going to fight with a Goliath without understanding that his fight is merely a quixotic one with windmills and shadows. Let us read his fascinating prologue.

"There is a group of scholars in present Tamilnadu who dream about a glorious past that was a Buddhist past. They try to construct a pre-Asoka Buddhism in Tamilnadu. That becomes equal to make the origin of Tamil history a Buddhist origin".

We cannot understand why this scholar is worried about the attempts made to reconstruct a true and objective history Buddhism in Tamilnadu. He describes this attempt as a dream. He is worried that the history of Tamilnadu should not have a Buddhist origin. A true researcher need not worry whether the history of a particular linguistic community has a Buddhist origin or a Jain origin or a Hindu origin. It is not the duty of the researcher to inaugurate a particular origin which is not in the basic data. The pursuit of a genuine academician should be pursuit of truth. Now, let us come to Dr. Rajam's explanation for the morphophonemic changes in certain Tamil words.

Dr. Rajam in her (not 'his' as Dr. Peter mentioned) book gives the following examples.

mutu + i + y + ōḷ = *mutiyōḷ*

ciṟu + i + y + ilai = *ciṟiyilai*

paru + i + y + arai = *pariyarai*

peru + i + y + atu = *periyatu*

Infact it should be

mutu + ōḷ = *mūttōḷ* (elder by woman)

ciṟu + ilai = *ciṟṟilai* (small leaf)

paru + arai = *parārai* (stout stem)

peru + atu = *periyatu* (big one)

but there are alternant forms like

mutiyōḷ
ciṟiyilai
pariyarai and
periyatu

which exist in the *Caṅkam* corpus. Now Dr. Rajam wants to explain to her foreign students about the formation of these alternant forms. The traditional explanation given to native students are as follows:

mutiya + avaḷ = mutiyavaḷ = mutiyōḷ
ciṟiya + ilai = ciṟiyailai = ciṟiyilai
pariya + arai = pariyaarai = pariyarai
periya + atu = periyaatu = periyatu

Dr. Rajam wants to explain this change in the form of a rule for the easy comprehension of her students. Hence, a linguistic rule is framed. We should keep in mind that linguistic rules are not legal constitutions but justifications for the existing forms of the lexical items. Languages are created not by our academicians who frame rules but by the common man. Now, let us come to Dr. Rajam's rule.

Dr. Rajam's rule is explained by Dr. Peter as follows. The adjective stem with two open syllables and with short vowel when followed by a suffix or a nominal, the final vowel in the stem gets deleted. The consonant proceeding the stem-final vowel is doubled or hardened, or the vowel *i* is inserted between the stem and the item following it.

Accordingly, the following changes are expected to take place.

mutu + i + y + ōḷ = mutiyōḷ
ciṟu + i + y + ilai = ciṟiyilai
paru + i + y + arai = pariyarai
peru + i + y + atu = periyatu

This rule looks like a magic or a circus in letters as it fails to explain the reasons for the dropping of '*u*' and the intrusion of '*i*'.

Anyhow, this helps Dr. Rajam to explain some of the morphophonemic changes in the classical Tamil words. The main aim of the above illustration is to explain about the formation of the allomorphs of certain morphemes. There are the changes that take place in the alternant forms or the allomorphs of a

particular morpheme. We should look carefully the words selected and given as examples by Dr. Rajam. In all the above four items, the rule explains the morphophonemic changes that are responsible for the formation of allomorphs of certain morphemes. Consequently, by this change, we are able to get the following allomorphs.

mutu *muti* (old)

ciṟu *ciṟi* (small)

paru *pari* (stout)

peru *peri* (big)

In all these instances, eventhough there is formal change in the lexical items or in the shape of the words, the meaning or the semantic content remains the same. In modern Tamil we have developed more allomorphs for the above items as follows.

mutu > *muti* > *mutiya*

ciṟu > *ciṟi* > *ciṟiya*

paru > *pari* > *pariya*

peru > *peri* > *periya*

We should keep in mind that Dr. Rajam is a Tamil scholar and so she has not committed the mistake of giving *potiyil* as an example as Dr. Peter did. Due to lack of understanding about Tamil language, literature and culture, Dr. Peter went astray in mechanically trying to fit his *potiyil* under Dr. Rajam's rule.

Let us see how he tries to fit in vain his *potiyil* under the above explanation.

potu + *i* + *y* + *il* = *potiyil*. Here, we are able to get two alternant forms such as *potu* and *poti*. But in Tamil potu and poti are not allomorphs but separate morphemes.

potu = *common*

poti = *covering something*

For example

potu + *aṟai* = *common room*

poti + *aṟai* = *concealed (fully) room*

potu + *iṭam* = *common place*

poti + *iṭam* = *concealed place*

Consequently, it is obvious that *poti* cannot be an alternant for *potu* in Tamil. There is no instance for the occurence of *potu* as an allomorph of *poti* in Tamil language. Therefore, the entire argument of Dr. Peter to explain *potiyil* as an alternant form of *potuvil* proved to be a very futile attempt.

Even if Dr. Rajam were born in the time of the compilation of the *Tamil Lexicon,* as sarcastically described by Dr. Peter, her rule won't help the compilers of *Tamil Lexicon* to derive *potiyil* from *potuvil.* I conclude this note with the statement of Dr. Peter that "We shall make reality an ultimate test of an interpretation and not an interpretation an ultimate test of reality" and "as historians we should not spread fictions about a historical period".

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"What we can do in the Cause of World Peace". By Gadjin M. Nagao, Vol. IX No. 2, March 1992, pp. 1-8.

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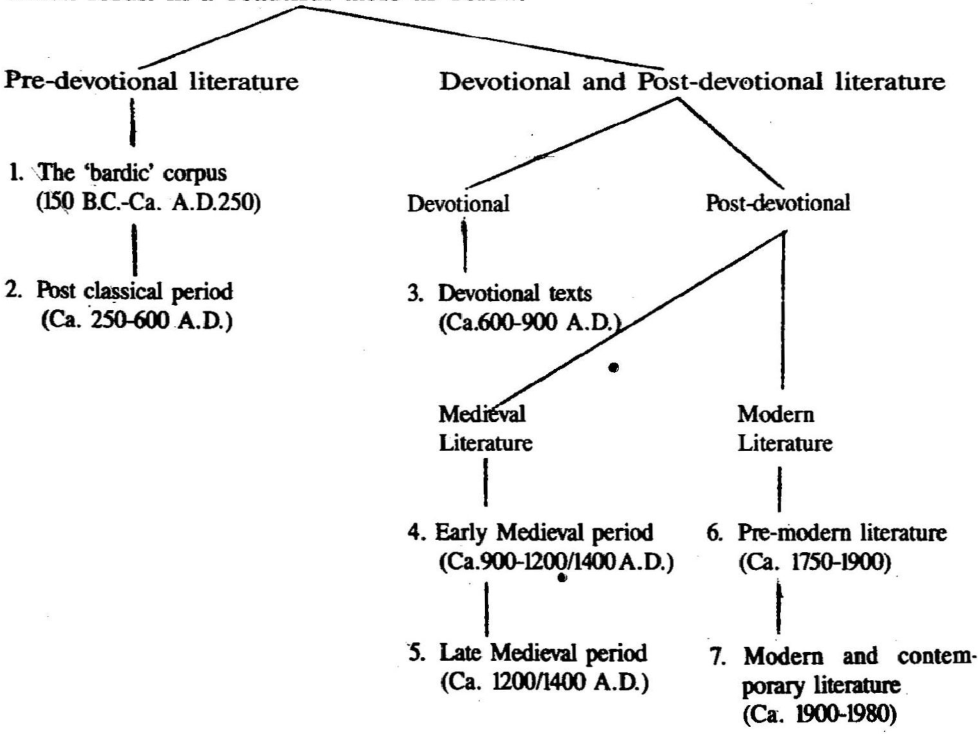
BOOK REVIEWS

Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature
Kamil V. Zvelebil, E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1992 pp. xxvi + 291.

This book is a good contribution to the history of Tamil literature by Kamil V. Zvelebil, a linguist and a well known scholar in Tamil language and literature. It deals with the different views of Tamil scholars about Tamil literature and its chronology.

The book has six chapters, preceded by the sections, Avant-propos: The term "tamil", Preface, Bibliographies and Catalogues of Tamil Material, and Introduction.

In the introduction of the book, the author gives a brief survey of the historical spread of the most important early Tamil works in its literary history. In chapter I, after discussing various attempts to periodise Tamil literature by scholars like A. Chidambaranata Cettiar, Cōmacuntara Tēcikar (who was followed in a partial attempt by Mayilai Cīṉi. Veṅkaṭacāmi, and Mu. Aruṇācalam), R. Caldwell, J. Vinson, K. V. Suryanarayana Sastri, S. V. Damodaram Pillai, M. Sirinivasa Aiyangar, M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, Cū. Irāmacuvāmi Nāyuṭu, C. and H. Jesudasan, T. P. Meenakshisundaran and Ā. Vēluppiḷḷai, the author attempts his own periodisation of Tamil works, avoiding the metaphysical and the nominalistic views, but his based on historical considerations of literary developments, co-ordinated with the evolution of society in its changing systems of cultural and literary norms, and on the conception of binary oppositions which result in a beautiful table as below.



In the above table what is the proto-stage for the first binary split?

In short this classification can also be periodised as follows:

Periodisation of Tamil Literature

- Ancient Literature
  1. Saṅkam/classical literature (150 B.C.-Ca. A.D.250)
  2. Post Saṅkam/classical literature (Ca.250-A.D.600)
  3. Bakthi/devotional literature (Ca.600-900 A.D.)
- Medieval Literature
  1. Early Medieval literature (Ca.900-1400 A.D.)
  2. Late Medieval literature (Ca.1400-1750 A.D.)
- Modern Literature
  1. Pre-Modern literature (Ca.1750-1900)
  2. Modern and contemporary literature (Ca. 1900-upto date)

Chapter 2 deals with the pre-history and proto-history of Tamil civilization; oral and written traditions of Tamil; and the problems of transmission of Tamil. In this chapter, the author records the Pulankurichi rock inscription of king Sendan Kutran, dated 270 A.D. by R. Nagaswamy, which is the earliest dated record in Tamilnadu so far brought to notice (p. 20, p.93, p.125).[1] (the author may give cross reference, in future editions instead of repetition).

In this chapter, the author also argues against the views of Julien Vinson, the Editor of Siddhanta Deepika. In his statement Julien Vinson says 'that the earliest texts of Tamil literature cannot be older than the 5th, 6th century A.D. Because, the art of writing was introduced into the south only in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.' (1901:31). But the author argues against these views that Julien Vinson has completely ignored the possibility of oral transmission when fixing the chronology of Tamil literature. Even today, the early narrative poems like *Cilappatikāram*, which was, without the least doubt, orally transmitted, or of the didactic verses, which are, in fact, orally transmitted (p.32).

His argument here is fine, but at the same time, he is not consistant in fixing the dates of Tamil writings. For example, on page 32 of the book, the author says that the rudimentary forms of writing were known to Tamils at least 300 years earlier than Julien Vinson had supposed. On page 93, (chapter 3)

1. But recently Institute of Asian Studies found Tamil Hieroglyphs on rocks in Perumukkal Cave (JIAS Vol. X. No. 2) which has been recorded earlier than this date. M. Shanmugam Pillai (JIAS Vol. XI. No. 1) argues that these Tamil Hieroglyphs may be of the stone age. Inscription of pre-Brāhmī period was also discovered at Perumukkal.

he says, 'by the existence of the Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions, which may be contemporaneous with *Tolkāppiyam* the earliest treatise of Tamil, the art of writing was known and used in Tamil Indian atleast from the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. But he says on pp. 91-92 (chapter 3) that the two early Jaina works *Samavāyāṅga sutta* (traditionally assigned to Ca. 300 B.C.) and *Paṇṇavaṇā sutta* (traditional date 168 B.C.) have mentioned eighteen kinds of scripts in use in India of which No. 17 is called *Dāmili* and among the 64 scripts mentioned by the Buddhist *Lalitavistara* (translated into Chinese in A.D.308), No. 12 is called *Dravida lipi*. From these references one can easily interpret that Tamil script existed prior to Ca. 300 B.C.

Chapter 3 deals with the problems of integrity, authenticity, attribution and authorship, interpolations, additions, revisions, forgeries and the literature lost. In this chapter, the author clearly explicited the "authenticity of forgeries or pious frauds" and ofcourse, the constant struggle of scholarly honesty and objectivity against self-delusion, motivated ideologically in the name of religion in the past, and in the name of politics in the present (p.33). He noted many citation for the discrimination of Tamil scholars in the name of religion and caste. For example, Brahmins alleged that *Tirukkural* belonged to a Paraiah who claims social equality (p.36). The author also admits the interpolations in Tamil literature. He states that "there is nothing great or intrinsically shameful or wrong with change, and development of Tamil and its literature is no exception to the universal 'law' of change and evolution. A 'pure' race, a 'pure' language without borrowings, a 'pure' culture without influences and admixtures is a silly and dangerous myth." As for the author 'More ancient' does not mean 'better', or greater antiquity adds absolutely nothing to the intrinsic excellence and quality of any literary work. The author further says that without trying to establish the evidences like linguistic forms, structural and logical order and the verifiable historical evidence, no one should say, the text is interpolated. For example Ilakkuvanār says, "... the scholars who upheld the caste system, composed some verses on castes and inserted them into the body of *Tolkāppiyam*". But the author argues, it is possible, but without solid evidence and argument, it is inadmissible (p.40). In this chapter the author also points out some of the very erudite and comprehensive treatises, which are the most tragical losses for Tamil literature, like the loss of *Avinayam* (a treatise on *muttamiḻ*); *Paṉṉirupaṭalam* (a very ancient — probably 'bardic' - grammar on the *puṟam* (public/heroic hypergenre); *Māpurāṇam* (a book which speaks of scholars of ancient books and of a still earliest linguistic tradition); *Ciṟṟeṭṭakam* (an afflicted Tamil literature); *Takaṭūryāttirai* (a literature with historical background and for the rarity in form — the mixture of prose and poetry — a kind of *campu* in old Tamil.); *Pāratacēṉāpatiyam* (a treatise about South Indian *dāsī āṭṭam* dance system which became later known as *Bharata Nāṭyam*).

Chapter 4 deals with the problems of dating absolute and relative chronology. In this chapter, the author opines, that the earliest corpus of Tamil literature may be dated roughly between 100 B.C. and 250-300 A.D. (p. 128). Chapter 5 deals with the dichotomy of Norm (*Ilakkaṇam)* and Application (*Ilakkiyam*), the dichotomy of *Mārga* and *Deśī*, the dichotomy of *Centamiḻ* and *Koṭuntamiḻ*, the dichotomy of *Taṉi* and *Toṭar*, and the concept of *Muttamiḻ*. Here, the author interpreted *Muttamiḻ*, not as *Iyal* (literature), *icai* (music) and *nāṭakam* (drama) but considers the language manifested in its totality. i.e. expressed as speech (or spoken or written word), as song (the word sung, speech joined with musical sound) and enacted. Chapter 6 deals with the 19th century Tamil scholars and their contribution to the Tamil literature. He regards the three dates, 1849, 1854 and 1887 in Tamil literature very important, in which Arumuga Navalar, Damodaram Pillai and U. V. Swaminatha Iyer rediscovered the Tamil classical heritage and published first, the works they discovered. He praised Suryanarayana Sastri who was fighting for the anti-Sanskrit movement, eventhough he was a well educated Brahmin. Next, the chronology of the texts, *Eṭṭuttokai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* are given.

Appendices (1. List of lost works, 2. Tamil conception of "book" and 3. the case of *Akattiyam*; Tamil and Sanskrit) are very useful and informative. The academic scholarly lineages of 19th and 20th centuries, Blue-print for a history of Tamil literature, Illustrations and Index are appended finally.

When we see the appendix the 'List of lost works' it is truely a shocking loss for Tamil literature, particularly when we see the numbers in each genre (indicated within brackets). 1. Grammar of *iyaṟṟamiḻ* (44), 2. Texts of poetry in *akam* hypergenre (30), 3. Texts of poetry in *puṟam* hypergenre (8), 4. Epic-narrative poetry *kāviyam)* (9), 5. Other Literary works (56), 6. Tamil musical texts (12), and 6. Dramas and dramatic literature (23).

In Appendix 3, the author emphasised, there is now no Dravidian and Aryan culture in India, but it is synthesised into one Indian culture, even though one can trace out some of the vestiges of both the culture.

This book is a very useful one to understand the historical development of Tamil language and literature from earliest to the modern period. It provides us with enormous data, which are orderly presented. The very lucid and legible presentation of arguments make it easily readable. A few minor mistakes found can be corrected in the next edition — On page vii — Table of contents, Bibliographies and Catalogues of Tamil Material is given as page xii instead of page xxii. On p. x(5) earliest for earliest, on p. 5 (22), p. 14 (34) and p. 37 (45) T. P. Meenakshisundaram for T. P. Meenakshisundaran, on p. 158 (26) 'ya'lpa'na Na'yana'r' for Yāḻpāṇa Nāyaṉār and on p. 240 (37) traveled for travelled.

On the whole, this book is a fine critical analysis, quite thought provoking in its contents and immensely lucid and elegant in the presentation of arguments. For sheer variety, interest and irresistible appeal, this book is an another milestone in the study for the history of Tamil literature.

Dr. P. Rajendran

Regional Movements — Politics of Language Ethnicity and Identity: Sajal Basu, Manohar Publications, New Delhi. 1992, pp. XIII + 240, Price. Rs. 250/-

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The Indian sub-continent is a repository of various ethnic races, languages, religions and cultures. It's characteristic phenomena "Unity in Diversity" is highly astonishing and praised by many nations. But it is quite inevitable, at one stage that this diversity breeds contempt and enmity resulting in the eruption of 'Movements' either to obtain freedom, autonomy or to establish their identity. These movements occur not only at the national level, but also in the sub-regions of the country. The present work "Regional Movement" is a brilliant attempt by the author, Sajal Basu, on the sensitive and hot burning issues of our contemporary politics. It is also unique in its kind that he has intertwined all the disturbing aspects viz., ethnic, races, languages, and religions and has given a well knit account.

The author has interwoven the subject under the following heads viz, the Legacy of the Movements, Language Movements, Language Demands, Ethnopolitics and Identity Aspirations, The Milch cow state and Bhadralok Phenomenon of Bengal — thus he has serially accommodated and analysed these problems both at regional and sub-regional levels. He has made use of the records and agreements that were signed until the year 1989.

The Regional Movement started brewing in the late 18th century A.D., and Tamilnadu happens to be the first state to raise its voice demanding state autonomy. But they have since then clarified that they do not want to secede from the Indian Federal Union. In this aspect, the author seems to have not taken into account the Rajamannar Committee Report, which was constituted to analyse the cause and consequences of state autonomy demand. Subsequently the Tamilnadu state has subsided its demand.

Currently, these Movements are vigourous in the north-western, north and in north-eastern states of India. The problems and Movements varied according to the nature of the state, for example, Tamilnadu demanded state autonomy, whereas Bengal, Assam, Tripura face the problem of foreign intruders like refugees and Punjab demands separate 'Khalisthan'. At some places he has

correlated some of the problems with that of the nations like USA, USSR, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, China, Canada, Belgium and Spain. It is true that due to Russian influence, the communist policy spread widely in India, but unfortunately its self contradictions made the party split and became less popular. The author has openly said that all these Regional Movements are 'Politically Motivated'.

Despite the fact that people knew about the existence of 1500 languages in India, only a few have proper script. Our Indian constitution recognises only fifteen languages. Herein, the author has correlated the problem of language with that of ethnicity and politics. It prevails not only among the tribal people but also in state politics. Further, the author has shown how this language played an unique role during the Freedom Movement but subsequently how it has resulted in state re-organisation. In the recent past, and in the tribal region, based on language of the people, they demand separate states. But the author doesn't analyse the Hindi agitation movement and the Three Language Formula suggested as a solution to the problem. Finally the author has concluded 'Language and Culture have been eulogized and used for political purposes, but not politicised for sectarian causes'. If India had adopted a uni-lingual policy, then our national problems would have been reduced by half.

The foreign infiltration and intruders are the basic cause for identity problem. Due to this Indian natives are denied of their past rights and amenities. It prevails mostly in the North eastern parts of India. The author has analysed this ethnopolitics and ethnic development with accurate date and tables. Herein he quoted Rabindranath Tagore "India has all along been trying in experiments in evolving a social unity in which all these different people could be held together while fully enjoying the freedom of maintaining their differences."

An entire chapter has been devoted to the growing problems of Bengal. He notes that Bengal from the very beginning seems to have served as Milch cow from which the other states draw their support. He also distinguished the 'babu' and 'bhadralok' and the exploitation of the haves over the have nots. During the National Movement period some important personalities rose to eminence. In the epilogue he has given an overall picture of all aspect discussed in the body of the book.

The meritorious aspect of this work is that the author has the ability to analyse all the troublesome matters to put into a good book. Despite the fact that he has taken this multifaceted subject for analysis, tribal people, religion, various liberation movements, the important personalities of Bengal, the national dailies that were published during Freedom Movement, etc. it does not affect the flow of his narration. But he has not mentioned anything about Rajamannar Committee and Sarkaria Commission, of which the former investigated the state autonomy and the latter analysed the centre-state

relationship. Yet another remarkable aspect is that all the important documents, interviews and the memoranda are added in the Appendix of the book. The crucial and important points are tabulated, which is useful for getting the information precise and quickly.

Barring a few minor defects, which are trivial in nature, like skipping of numbers in the documents in the appendix and spelling mistakes etc., the book gives a good impression to the reader. The author has concentrated much on the tribals of north-eastern provinces, but paid feeble attention to the southern states.

However, the author demonstrates a good scholarly approach to the subject, which he has done with open mind. The indepth of analysis and the bulk information recorded in the book would be useful to the researchers in the field of language, religion, and ethnic races. The author has a good understanding of the environment with all its nuances and complexities.

D. Kalyani

Akattiyar Mutal Appucuvāmi Varai — Elilamutaṉ, Narmadha Pathippagam, T. Nagar, Madras-17, 1992, pp. 184, Price Rs. 23

The impact of the Mass Media on people is highly influential in the present cultural context. To thrive in such a background, the publisher has clothed this collection of essays with a beautiful portrait of a bird, a poetical symbol to many literary bards. This portrait covets the hearts of the readers, and impells them to enjoy the literary flourishes handed down to the Tamil world by the literary giants of Tirunelveli District, through the skilful articulation of an English professor hailing from the South.

Tamils believed that Akattiyar is the sage who spread Tamil, contemplated on the high ranges of Potiyil hill, the South West border of Tamil Nadu. The author, though an academician, through his simple and lucid style, enlivens the literary sketches and virtually makes us participate in his approbation of the gift of the learned Tamil scholars as well as in his remark on the Tamil people in a lighter vein. He quotes from many literary and puranic sources to remind that Potiyil or Potikai, as it is now known, is the harbinger of Tamil literary tradition. He alludes to the recent scientific investigations conducted in the field of agriculture, and mocks at the belief of the Tamils, even in this twentieth century.

Tamil literature is viewed through a religious and national perspective. Annamalai Reddiyar, a skilful poet in composing Kāvatic Cintu, Bharati,

the revolutionary poet of the Tamils, his comrades Subramanya Siva, and V. O. Chidambaram pillai, the literary critics like V. V. S. Iyer, T. K. C., have contributed to Tamil literature through their creative works, translations, and literary forums. Their contributions created a literary fervour among the people of the Southern region. According to the author, the people's taste for Tamil led only to the literary debates — Vaḻakkāṭu Maṉṟam — in an ephemeral sense and not in a constructive way. Maṉōnmaṇiyam Sundaram Pillai, Madhavaiah, T. M. C. Ragunathan are the creative writers who have cast a spell on the readers by their picturesque presentations. The author points out Vannanilavan's short stories, that are centred around the places near Tāmiraparaṇi, resemble J. Joyce's emphasis on Irish people in his Dubliners. The author emphasises that literary research should try to adopt a historical perspective, by arriving at the period of the works and the writers. Though there is a good number of literary criticisms, they are not concerned with an inter-disciplinary approach, reproaches the author.

Shakespeare has entered into the Tamil literary arena through English education. Many apocryphal stories are about him, treating him as a native of the Tamil soil. So goes the topic on Shakespeare. Shakespeare's influence is felt more among the English-knowing Tamils, making them call the Tamil epic poet Kamban as 'Shakespeare of Tamil literature'.

Kumara Kuruparar established a Mutt at Varanasi to propagate Saivism and Tamil, with the help of a Muslim king, three hundred years ago. The reviewer along with the author is eager to know about the impact created by the Mutt on the North Indians. A popular belief is that Tulasi Dasar has written Ramayana with the influence of Kamban. But the author points out that the period of Tulasi Dasar predates the age of Kamban.

While talking about Education in the view of Kumara Kuruparar, the author brings in the prevalent view of education, by quoting the words of Aurangazeb, and by referring to the translated text 'Travels in the Moghul Empire' and from Jawaharlal Nehru's 'Discovery of India'. The author contrasts his view with the present state of affairs in the field of education which favours not learning but business. He scathingly attacks that education or learning has become a passport to obtain a degree or to acquire a higher position. But the author maintains that true education is possible only through reading or learning from books, an opinion that needs to be questioned.

Maṉōnmaṇīyam, the dramatic work of Sundaram Pillai, is written not for the stage but for the readers. 'The Secret Way' a narrative poem included in 'The Last Tales of Miletus of Lord George Buluer Litten' is the source for this first Tamil Drama. The invocatory verse on the Tamil Goddess is performed during the inaugural sessions of conferences, seminars, and literary meetings, is composed by none but Sundaram Pillai. Sathyanandan, an English novel by Madhavaiah, can be considered on par with 'Gora' of Tagore, if it is written in a more artistic way.

Bharati, the revolutionary Tamil poet, through his vibrant, thought—provoking diction, instilled in the minds of the people of his times against the British Imperialism. There are many controversies in the particular period in which Bharati has contributed his poems. The author expresses the need to study the social and historical background of Bharati's outpourings; this kind of social perspective, he believes, is unknown to the Tamil academic arena.

Talking about Bharati's puppy love, the author reminds us the 'Dark Lady' of Shakespeare. The author's sketch on Bharati throws more light on the British imperialism and the poet's role in instigating the people against them.

Like Bharati, many literary giants contributed much for the growth of Tamil literature. Pudumaippittan, the short-story writer, hailing from Tirunelveli, with his satirical, humorous touch, has revealed the social conflicts, and imbalances prevalent during his times. Though Pudumaippittan focussed on social imbalances, his literary brush do not sketch the freedom struggle as a whole. Pudumaippittan has also written many short stories for children, which according to the author, can be compared with the stories of Mark Twain, R. K. Narayan who have shed light on the follies and foibles of children. There are concrete reasons for Pudumaippittan's desire to present children as the characters in his stories.

Cinema or Motion Picture rules supreme over literary enjoyment in Tamil Nadu. So, the people's view on literature is influenced by the Celluloid. By his association with the Cinema-world, the creative writer becomes more popular.

The life of the Reverred scholar, translator P. N. Appusami, as well as his contributions to science — by translating scientific articles, texts — get a lion's share in this literary criticism — as the title warrants it.

S. Shanmuga Velayudham

VIVILIYAMUM TAMILUM (The Bible and Tamil) Mrs. Sarojini Packiamutthu. The Department of Research and Publications, Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute, Madras — 600 010 and Asian Programme for Advancement of Training and Studies (APATS) — India, Nanpar Vattam, Tirunelvēli 1990. pp. IX + 255 price. Rs. 50 / -.

The Bible, the scripture of Christianity is the most translated book in the world and perennial best seller. Among the Indian languages, it was in Tamil that it appeared first. The book under review presents an account of the various

Tamil translations of the Bible from an historical angle. Western scholars were associated with the translation of the Bible into Tamil from the original language in which it was written. The author of this book has not only detailed systematically the efforts of these scholars in translating the Bible into Tamil, but also highlighted the salient features of their achievement. Mr. Kulendran's book, *Kristuva Tamiḻ Vētākamattiṉ Varalāṟu* and A. Daniel's thesis entitled, "The role of the Luthern Missions in the Tamil translations of the Bible" are the two earlier studies of the history of the Tamil translations of Bible.

The Bible consists of the old and the New Testaments. It appeared originally in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. The major part of the old testament has been rendered wholly or in part into other languages by scholars, individual or in groups, according to their knowledge of the language, their scholarship and according to the social environment.

Mrs. Sarojini Packiamuthu outlines the characteristics of a good translator. He should be conversant with both the languages thoroughly, with the language from which he translates and the language into which he has to render the translation, their idiomatic and grammatical niceties and also possess the skill to translate with clarity.

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg was a scholar who possessed all these marks of a good translator. He had the distinction of bringing out the first Tamil translation of the Bible. The translations which followed his work are based on it and the rectifications which they contained, indicate the development of the art of translation.

The scholar responsible for the establishment of institutions associated with the work of translation was Danier who devoted himself intensively to the task. He set up in Tharangampadi as an arm of the reformist Church, which in the west was responsible for multi-faceted reform movement and was thus its founding father. The author recalls these facts.

Some of the great translators of Bible in Tamil are Ziegenbalg, Philip, Fabricious, Rhenius, Bower, Larsen, Monahan.

The contribution of the Tharangampadi Christian Missionaries to Tamil was immense in the 18th century which came to be considered as the golden age of translation in Tamil. The institutions for the development of Tamil translations of the Bible were C. M. S., S. P. G., L. M. S., etc.

Martin Luther translated the Bible into German. It was a great turning point in the history of Christianity. When the reformists broke from the Catholic Church and formed their own church, there appeared the first efforts at rendering the Bible into European Languages. The Catholic Church recognised only the Latin version of Bible. But the Protestant Church has at its basic tenet the principle that the Bible should be accessible to all the people in the language understood by them.

Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into German was a free rendering of the ideas of the Bible. Revised editions of the Bible in German were issued later. With Bower as their head, several Missions strove together and brought out the translation of Bible. This resulted in one Tamil version of the Bible accepted throughout Tamil Nadu. This is a great achievement. The Bower's version of the Bible is lucid, delightful and full of literary flavour.

The prolific production of these Tamil translations of the Bible, resulted in the creation of a Tamil prose style characteristically Christian. Fabricious was responsible for this style. On the other hand, Arumuga Navalar brought into being a Tamil prose style which was Saivite in character. As a result of which, Tamil prose flourished and he came to be known as the Father of Tamil prose. Another consequence was that people opposed the New Testament of Bible.

To counter this trend, the Christian Missionaries like Asariah, Larsen, Duraiswamy defended strongly the greatness of the New Testament of the Bible but in vain.

Even today, there are a number of ongoing translation projects in Tamil. They used Tamil prose as their tool for their work. For the development of prose style they studied grammar, dictionaries and research articles. They introduced printing and papers. They spread abroad an awareness of the antiquity of Tamil language and literature through the rendering of Tamil classics into western languages. They activated Tamil prose which had stagnated.

This book deals comprehensively with the origin of translation and its growth. It also highlights the difficulties of translation, the differences among the translators and the merits and demerits of translations with apt examples.

In describing all these aspects of translations, the author has been highly impartial. She also illustrates with examples how translation is influenced by the local culture, art and social factors.

In this book of 255 pages, there are 215 foot notes, bibliography of about 30 books, a few photographs of some of the western translators, their manuscripts of Tamil translation and an index at the end.

Dr. S. Thiagamani

About the Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies

The **Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies** is biannual, being published in March and September. An important organ of this Institute, it is devoted to comparative studies of the literatures, languages, philosophy, sociology, archaeology, theology and other disciplines of Asian cultural and literary sensibility. Apart from making available in print the fruits of current research and scholarship on the different cultural facets of the Asian countries, our journal remains a purposive and fruitful forum for the interaction of the critical sensibilities of scholars working on Asian art and life. It also provides bibliographical information relating to research on Asian culture all over the world. The central object of our journal is thus to promote interdisciplinary investigation of the art and culture of the peoples of Asia in a wider perspective and to bring out their deep-rooted affinities and interconnectedness.

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A System of Transliteration of Tamil

VOWELS

Short				Long	
அ	a			ஆ	ā
இ	i			ஈ	ī
உ	u			ஊ	ū
எ	e			ஏ	ē
ஒ	o			ஓ	ō
		ஐ	ai		
		ஔ	au		

CONSONANTS

Hard		Soft		Medial	
க்	k	ங்	ṅ	ய்	y
ச்	c	ஞ்	ñ	ர்	r
ட்	ṭ	ண்	ṇ	ல்	l
த்	t	ந்	n	வ்	v
ப்	p	ம்	m	ழ்	ḻ
ற்	ṟ	ன்	ṉ	ள்	ḷ
		ஷ்	ṣ		
ஸ்	s			ஹ்	h
		ஜ்	j		

Books Received for Review

1. James J. Novak, *Bangladesh Reflection on the Water,* Indiana University Press, Indianapolis 1993, pp. xv + 235.
2. Raja, *P. M. P. Pandit: A Peep into his Past,* DIPTI Publications, Pondicherry, 1993, pp. 93, Price Rs. 25/-
3. Sharma, K. V., *Research in Sanskrit,* Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1993, pp. 74, Price Rs. 40/-
4. Sharma, K. V., *Manuscripts Collection of the Desamangalam Vāriyam,* Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, pp. xxvi + 151, Price Rs. 120/-
5. Irājēsvari, Ce, *Moḻipeyarppiyal Āyvu,* Cellaiya Patippakam, Madurai, pp. vi + 106 Price Rs. 30/-
6. James, Gregory, *Tamil Lexicography,* Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tubingen, 1991 xiv + 276

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